

St. Paul

J U L I A N
THE
APOSTATE:
BEING
A Short Account
OF HIS
L I F E:

The Sense of the *Primitive Christians*
about his Succession;

And their Behaviour towards him.

Together with
A Comparison of *Popery and Paganism.*

By SAMUEL JOHNSON.

The Fourth Edition

Licensed and Entered according to Order.

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THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.



*I*N reading many of the late Addressee, I could not forbear thinking of those Angels which Mahomet saw, whose Horns were half Fire, and half Snow: those Contrarieties which they wore on the out-side of their Heads, methought, many of our Addressers had got on the in-side of theirs. For with a brave and warm Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and a Protestant Prince, they generously offered their Lives and Fortunes, and the last drop of Blood, in defence of His Majesty, and the Religion now established by Law; and by

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and

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and by the same Lives and Fortunes, and last drop of Blood, are promised over again to a Popish Successor. What is this but clapping cold Snow upon the Head of all their Protestant Zeal? For he that offers his Service to both of these together, lifts himself under two the most adverse Parties in the World, and is Guelph and Gibeline at once. What benefit a Popish Successor can reap from Lives and Fortunes, spent in defence of the Protestant Religion, he may put in his Eye: And what the Protestant Religion gets by Lives and Fortunes spent in the Service of a Popish Successor, will be over the left Shoulder.

But this contradictions Zeal was nothing near so surprising, as that of our Friends of Rippon, who beseech his Majesty, and are very solicitous, lest he should agree to a Bill of Exclusion; (for plain English is as well understood on this side the Trent, as on the other.) and seem to be very much afraid of losing the great Blessing of a Popish Successor. All the sober Men that I have met with, who remain unsatisfied as to a Bill of Exclusion, do nevertheless acknowledge, That a Popish Successor will be an heavy Judgement of God to this Nation,

to the Reader.

Nation ; to which we must patiently submit, as we do to all other Calamities. But did ever Men pray for a Judgment, and make it their humble Request, that they might be sure of it ? Do they not, on the other hand, when it begins to threaten them, heartily deprecate the Evil, and are they not earnest with God to avert it ? Nay, do they not moreover use all lawful humane means to prevent it ? There is no Judgment represented in Scripture, to be so immediately the stroke of God, as the Plague : David, in his great strait, made choice of it under that Notion ; when he desired rather to fall into the Hands of God, than into the Hands of Men ; and yet Men do constantly make use of all lawful means to prevent it. For, besides their using Hippocrates's Receipt of Cito, longè, tardè, and running away from it ; they make no scruple of antidoting and fortifying themselves against it. They strive with an infected Air, and with Fires, and Fumes of Pitch and Tar, &c. they endeavour to correct it. Nay, they imprison Men that are infected, and put them under a very close confinement, when they have committed no fault, nor done any thing to forfeit

their Liberty, only that they may thereby preserve others. This, and many other things are done by Law, till such time, as it pleases God to countermand that heavy Judgment. I was therefore perfectly posed with that Address, and could not tell what to make of it. The least I could think of them was this, That if they were Protestants, they were Men weary of their Religion, who were so undone for a Prince, a great part of whose Religion it is, to persecute and extirpate theirs. And considering with my self, what Precedents or Examples they might have of this strange Conduct, and being able to find none; instead thereof, I had an imperfect remembrance of the quite contrary carriage of the Primitive Christians toward Julian. In which having thoroughly satisfied my self, I was willing to give the World this short Scheme of it. I can term it no otherwise, for whoever pleases to look into those Places which I have cited, will find, that I have not impoverished the Subject; but have left, untouched, sufficient materials for Whole Volumes, to any one that shall be disposed to Write them.

Having told you the Occasion of Writing this Discourse, I shall say somewhat
of

of every part of it. I have been very brief in Julian's Life, because I wrote it, only to render the following Discourse concerning his Succession intelligible; and yet, I am sure, I have not omitted any of the main strokes of it. The Christians behaviour towards him was necessarily added, as a collateral proof and illustration of their sense about his Succession. Indeed, if they had been worthy to have known Julian's Religion, before he came to be Emperor, we had not had that part to write; but they that report, and do not invent, must take things as they are. This behaviour of theirs being so contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the carriage of former Christians, I found it necessary to make some few Remarks upon it; and to shew that there was as wide a difference betwixt their Case, and that of the first Christians, as Laws for Men, and against Men, could possibly make. And if other Men are for taking Laws and no Laws, and shaking them together in a Bag, and for making the Result of either of them to be Passive Obedience, I cannot help that; no more than I can my own belief of this as a first Principle, that the Laws of a Man's Countrey are the measures of all Civil

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Obedience; or my belief, that any kind of Obedience, either Active or Passive, without a Law to require it, is like one of the marvellous Accidents in Transubstantiation, which makes a shift to subsist, when it has lost its Subject. But there it was, that I met with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; which when it is taught without any regard to Laws, and is prescribed both without Law and against Law, is not Evangelical but Mahometane, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-string. In such a short Discourse, it was impossible for me to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intollerable that Doctrine is, and how contrary, both to the Gospel, and to the Law of the Land. Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or divesting us of those Rights and Priviledges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them. Read 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. with Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase upon them. And St. Paul himself was not for Passive Obedience by any means, even when the lawful Magistrate persecuted him, if it were in an unlawful way, but he stood upon his Birth-right. For did not he in one place,

to the Reader.

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place, axe the Centurion and chief Cap- Acts 22. 25, 26, &c.
tain, and make all the Souldiers vanish
who were commanded to beat him, by
telling them he was a Roman? And
did not he, in another place, bring the
Magistrates of Philippi, one of the chief
Cities of Macedonia, upon their Knees, Acts 16. 39.
when they had illegally beaten him, with-
out a fair Tryal, by telling them he was a
Roman? Although it is very plain, that
he, and Silas, who suffered with him, Verf. 21.
had really offended as they were accused,
and were guilty of breaking the Roman
Laws, yet St. Paul insists upon this, that Verf. 37.
they were uncondemned. It were easy
to produce many more passages to the
same purpose. And then as for the Laws
of the Land, That Doctrine overthrows
Magna Charta, Chap. 29. together with
multitudes of Statutes and ruled Cases;
which, as I cannot stand here to name,
so I need not, they are so well known.
Only I will set down one Case, for the
fulness of it, which comprises in it, more
than all I have said.

In the Circuit of Northampton, when
the Lord Anderlon and Glanville were
Justices of Assize, a Pursivant was sent
by the Commissioners to arrest the Body
of a Man to appear before them; and in
resistance

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Cokes Reports
12th part.
p. 49.
Brownlow's
Rep. 2d part.
p. 15.

resistance of the Arrest, and striving amongst them, the Pursivant was killed: And if this was Murder or not, was doubted, and this depended upon the validity of Power, and authority of the Pursivant: for if his Authority was lawful, then in killing of an Officer of Justice in execution of his Office, is Murder: And advisement was taken till the next Assizes; and upon Conference, at the next Assize, it was resolved, that the Arrest was Tortious, and by consequence that this was not Murder. The Pursivant was a proper Officer of the High-Commission Court, he was sent by the Court to make this Arrest, it was one of the Powers of their Commission to send for any by Pursivant, &c. And yet because this Power had no foundation upon the Act, 1. Eliz. upon which their Commission was grounded, it could not justify the Arrest, and consequently the Pursivant's Blood was upon his own Head. For as every Subject ought to be, and therefore is supposed to be, connusant of the Law, much more ought they to be, who have any part in the execution of it. Now any Man may see, that my Discourse does not descend to any such petty Matters as false Arrests, (though a Man's Liberty

Liberty is not to be dispised neither) but I have honestly and legally pursued the end of our Saviour's coming into the World, which, as himself witnesses, was, not to destroy Mens Lives, but to Luke 9. 56. *save them. Of which the Laws of the Land are likewise very tender, and have taken a particular care of all those, who are put upon an inevitable necessity of defending themselves against the Assaults of violent or evil-disposed Persons. And to conclude, That Doctrine quite alters our Oath of Allegiance, and gives us new Measures of Obedience, whereas the old ones are these; I shall be obedient to all the Kings Majesty's Laws, Precepts, and Process proceeding from* the same.

Wilkinson
Treatise Coron.
&c. Court-
Leet, &c. p.
140.

And then after all, that the case of a Pagan Successor might not seem remote and forreign, and nothing of kin to Popery, I found it necessary to make a short Comparison of both those Religions; which though an unfinished Piece, I will be bold to say, is very like; wherein Popery may see her self neither flattered nor disfigured.

The Church of England reserves her Faith entire for the Canonical Books of Scripture, her Reverence she divides be-
twixt

twixt the Ancient Fathers, and the first Reformers of this Church; who partly were Martyrs that died for the Protestant Religion, and partly were Confessors that afterwards settled it, as it is now establish'd. How much the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion, we have seen already: I shall, in a word or two, shew you the sense of the other. Every body knows that King Edward the Sixth, to prevent his Popish Sister from succeeding, and not having time to call a Parliament, bequeathed his Kingdom, by Will, to the Lady Jane Gray, which was confirmed by the Privy Council: It signified nothing indeed, because it could not make void an Act of Succession in Henry the Eighth's Time; but by doing that Nothing, they shewed what they would have done if they could. I need not say what Bishops were concern'd, nor how far they were concern'd in that Business. But to pass by that, the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the settlement of our Church, concurred to the making of that Statute 13 Eliz. Ch. 1. which makes it High Treason in her Reign, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any
wise

wise to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof: And when you see their Names, you will find that very many of them were Confessors.

Sir Simon
D'Ewes Jour-
nal, p. 140.

Canterbury,	Matt. Parker.
London,	Edwyn Sands.
Durham,	James Pilkinton.
Winchester,	Robert Horne.
Hereford,	John Scory.
Worcester,	Nicholas Bullingham.
Lincoln,	Tho. Cooper.
Salisbury,	John Jewel.
St. Davids,	Richard Davies.
Rochester,	Edmond Guest.
Notwich,	John Parkhurst.
Carlisle,	John Best.
Chester,	John Downham.
Asaph,	
Colchester,	† Richard Cheyney.
Bango,	Nicholas Robinson.
Landaff,	Hugh Jones.

† That brave
Man, who in
Queen Mary's
Time was one
of those poor
truly a re-

six, that in the whole Convocation House opposed Popery
ry small representative Body of our whole Church.

And

And that these Bishops were active and zealous for such Acts as these, and were not concluded by a Majority of the other Lords, appears by what they did, according to some, this Parliament; but, as Sir Simon D'Ewes will have it, the next Tear, in relation to the Queen of Scots. I am not satisfied with Sir Simon's Reason, which is, That there was nothing moved about the Queen of Scots in the 13th of Eliz. For Cambden says, There was a Bill for making her lyable to be tried as the Wife of a Peer of England, if hereafter she offended against the Laws; which the Queen hindred from passing into an Act. I should not have mentioned this, but by Sir Simon's Account we lose John Jewel, who died in the Interval betwixt this and the next Parilament. But still there are Worthies enough left, who were Excluders with a Witness, for they were for excluding Mary Queen of Scots, the next Heir to the Crown, not only from the Succession, but out of the World. As you may see by their Writing, intituled, Reasons to prove the Queen's Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with severity in this Case of the late Queen of Scots. Some of which I will here set down,

only

Sir Simon
D'Ewes Journ-
nal, Pag. 207.

only to invite the Reader to peruse the whole Paper.

Every good Prince ought, by God's Page. 248.
Commandment, to punish even with Death, all such as do seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship unto Superstition and Idolatry. For that Offence God hath always most grievously punished, as committed against the First Table, *Deut. 13.* His words are these; *If the Brother, the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter, &c.*

Here you may perceive that God willeth his Magistrate not to spare either Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Wife or Friend, be he never so nigh, if he seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship, &c.

But the late Queen of *Scots* hath not only sought and wrought, by all means she can, to seduce the People of God in this Realm from true Religion; but is the only hope of all the Adversaries of God throughout all *Europe*, and the Instrument whereby they trust to overthrow the Gospel of Christ in all Countries. And therefore if she have not that punishment which God in this place aforementioned

tioned appointeth; It is of all Christian Hearts to be fear'd, that God's just Plague will light both upon the Magistrates and Subjects: but that by our slackness and remiss Justice we give occasion of the overthrow of God's Glory, and Truth in his Church, mercifully restored unto us in these latter days.

Eusebius Life
of Constantine
lib. 2.

Constantinus Magnus caused *Licinius* to be put to Death, being not his Subject, but his fellow Emperor; for that the said *Licinius* laboured to subvert Christian Religion. And the same *Constantinus* is for the same, in all Histories, highly commended. Much more shall it be lawful for the Queen's Majesty to execute this Woman, who besides the subversion of Religion, &c.

A Prince ought in Conscience, before God, by all the means he can, to see to the Quietness, Safety, and good Estate of that People over which God hath appointed him Governour.

— Therefore as the Queen's Majesty indeed is merciful, so we most humbly desire her, That she will open her Mercy towards God's People and her good Subjects, in dispatching those Enemies that seek the Confusion of
God's

God's Cause amongst us, and of this noble Realm.

Object. But haply it may be, that some do discredit these Reasons by the Persons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majesty's Mind, that we in perswading her, respect our own danger and fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unseemly and worthy sharp reproof in a Bishop to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful inclination.

Resp. As touching the first Branch, surely we see not any great continuance of Danger likely to come unto us, more than to all good Subjects while this State standeth; and the State cannot lightly alter, without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country. Now if our Danger be joined with the Danger of our Gracious Sovereign, and Natural Country, we see not how we can be accounted Godly Bishops, or faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we should not cry and give warning: Or, on the other side, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God, and towards
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their Prince and Country, that will mislike us for so doing, and seek thereby to discredit us.

As touching the second Branch; God forbid that we should be Instruments to incense a merciful Prince to Cruelty and bloodiness; neither can we think well of them, or judg that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Minister of God and Officer, do term Justice and right Punishment by the Name of Bloodiness and Cruelty. God, I trust, in time, shall open her Majesty's Eyes to see and espy their cruel Purposes under the Cloak of extolling Mercy, &c.

Here you see how urgent they are with the Queen, contrary to her Inclination, to put Queen Mary to death, who did not suffer till thirteen Years after; and how they make the dangerousness of her Religion, and the hopes which the Papists had conceived of ruining the Protestant Religion by her means, not only sufficient, but necessary Reasons for so doing. A Bill of Exclusion is perfect Courtship to these Reasons. Let those therefore that run down three successive Houses of Commons for that Bill, turn their Fury and Reproaches, with more justice upon these
old

old Excluders, and we have done. And let them likewise give us but one Reason to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be unlawful, which they will own to be a Reason a week after, and not be ashamed of it, and I do solemnly promise to joyn with them in renouncing these Old Reformers, and will hereafter readily follow their new Guides and new Light.

In the mean time, because I see hearty Protestants abused to their Ruin, with shameful Sophistry, I think it the part of every honest Man to detect it. And the most popular Argument is this; You are preingaged, and cannot consent to a Bill of Exclusion; for if you do, you are forsworn, because you have long since sworn Allegiance to the King, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors. Now though the Lawyers tell them, an hundred times over, No man can have an Heir while he is alive; yet this will not overcome that deceitful Prejudice which is occasioned by our common Speech; where a Man and his Heirs are contemporary, and familiarly live at once in the same House, and eat and drink together every day. Where likewise Heir Apparent sounds as a greater addition to Heir, and Heir Presumptive sounds as somewhat a less

Peril Idol.
P. 13.

addition, and few are capable of considering them as terms of Diminution. No more than on the other hand, a Papist can be persuaded that Images are Idols, because there common Speech has made a distinction, where really there is none, as the Homily well observes: Whereas here it has confounded an Actual Heir with one that is only in possibility. What is to be done then? Shall we shew them, that the Duty of Excise, for instance, is granted to the King, his Heirs and Successors; in which it is plain, that Heirs and Successors have not any title to a penny while his Majesty lives, which God grant may be long, to keep them a great while from it. Why still it may be replied, that Heirs and Successors may have this Law-sense in an Act of Parliament, but an Oath of Allegiance ought to be conceived in plain words, and to be taken in the common sense of those words, without any Jesuitical Equivocation. Well, if it be so, then let them be sure to keep it in that sense in which they have taken it, or should have taken it by sixteen Years of Age, in the Court-Leet, in these words; This hear you, the Steward and the Court, that I shall swear, That I will be true Liege-man,

man, and true Faith and Troth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and to his Highness Heirs and lawful Successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions depending on the same, &c.

Whereas it is plain to every Body, that no one certain or known Person in the World, has any Interest at present in the Oath of Allegiance, besides his Majesty that now is: for who shall be King or Queen of this Realm of England hereafter, none but God himself knows.

Another Argument I have heard, which is fetch'd from the Common-Prayer, That no Church of England-man can, with a good Conscience, be for a Bill of Exclusion, which they say is to the prejudice of his R. H. because we there pray, That God would prosper him with all Happiness, both here and hereafter. There is no Man in the Communion of the Church of England that prays that Prayer more heartily than I do. But it would be a Curse, either in the Mouth, or in the Heart of any Protestant, under the Name of Happiness, to

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wish him the opportunity, and which is more, the invincible Temptation, and a kind of Necessity, to extirpate the best Religion in the World. That, I am sure, would be far from promoting his happiness in the next World, and I am apt to think, will contribute nothing at all to it in this. He th t prays that Prayer with understanding, prays for his R. H's return to the Protestant Religion: which would both prove an unspeakable blessing to himself, and restore these three Kingdoms to be the happiest upon Earth. It would be some comfort if we could but hope for such a thing. But if the D. is persuaded that he has made a better choice, it were very desireable, but not unless it stand with his H's good liking, that he would enjoy that Religion to the greatest advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-head, which a Crowned Head at this instant does, who could not enjoy it so happily at home. And the rather, because all Protestants are sworn not to suffer Rome to come hither. For I am thoroughly satisfied, and so may any Man else, by once looking upon them, that the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, are Protestant Oaths, (as a great Assertor
of

of Religion and Laws, now with God, thought fit to term them) and we shamefully and wickedly break them, unless to our Power we keep our Popery. And the Oath of Supremacy, being often called in Statutes, the Oath of Obedience, we are bound, by vertue of our Religion, of our Oath, and of our Obedience, which are strong Obligations, to oppose the entrance of Popery into this Kingdom.

And I am afraid it is a vain undertaking to go about, by Law, to twist a Popish Interest with these Oaths, when both our Religion, and our sworn Obedience, engage us to oppose it. For in any Case that can be put, whether it be fit to obey Man, or God and Man too, judge ye. Julian endeavoured to entangle the Christians, and to destroy Christianity that very way. There was a Law, and an Ancient Law of the Empire, (and so great stress was laid upon it, that the breach of it was look'd upon as an Offence against the Government and the Empire) that every one should honour and worship the Emperour's Statues and Pictures; which were set up for that end in publick Places. Now he took advantage of that

a 4 Law,

Inveſt 1. p.
83, 84.

Sozom. 1. 5.
c. 16.

Ibid.

Sozom. Ibid
h' y'v'uss a-
me'te'ye.

Law to enſnare them unawares in Heatheniſh Worſhip, for he added the Figures of the Heathen Gods to his own Picture, and as Gregory's words are, mingled Poyſon with their Meat, abuſing their Loyalty to the Purpoſes of Idolatry. For this was his Project, as Sozomen tells us, He concluded, that if he could bring over the Chriſtians to this, he might the more eaſily attempt anything elſe that he had a mind to; but if he found them diſobedient, then to puniſh them without Mercy, as innovating in the Roman Cuſtoms, and offending againſt the Government and the Empire. A few therefore, who were alſo puniſhed, underſtood the Cheat, and would not worſhip according to cuſtom. Who they were, St. Gregory tells us, ſome of the wiſer and more conſcientious found out the Fraud, but they paid for their Sagacity; the pretence was, that they offended againſt the Honour of the Emperor; but the truth was they came into danger for the ſake of the true King, and for the ſake of Religion. But the Multitude, as they uſe to do, from ignorance, or an unthinking mind, ſimply thought they obeyed an Old Law, and more ſimply approached theſe Images.

Images. But what says Gregory of this sort that obeyed the old Law? Who perhaps, says he, may obtain pardon for their Ignorance, as being hurried into Wickedness by a Wile. He makes a doubt of it, but he would have readily pronounced concerning their Pardon, who wink hard and are wilful. Now if a Prince puts a Border of Popery (which some say is ten times worse than a Border of Paganism) about his Picture, which we fain would honour and reverence, and once did, before we saw that unhappy addition, what shall we say, or what can we do?

In these afflicting Thoughts, I had almost forgot a Matter of great Consequence, and that is a Passage of St. Austin, which rises up against all that we have said concerning the behaviour of the Christians towards Julian, and is to this effect. That the Christian Soldiers served under this Infidel Emperor, and where their Religion was not concern'd, made Conscience of obeying him; but where indeed it came to the Cause of Christ, there they made as much Conscience of disobeying him.

*Aug. in Ps. 124.
Julianus extir-
tic infidelis
Imperator,
&c.*

Now

Now the Reader may please to take notice, that the whole Contest which I have described betwixt these Christians and Julian, was purely upon the score of Religion, and not from any lawless or ungovernable humour. And as for these Soldiers fighting under Julian against the Persians, or other common Enemies of the Empire, (for as sure as they were Christians, they would never have drawn a Sword to destroy their fellow Christians, or the Interest of Christianity) and obeying the Word of Command, when they received his Pay, it is such a low part of Honesty, that any Man may pretend to it. If I had been there, a Soldier of Fortune, I should have done the same: and, which is more, would have lost my own Life, rather than have served him that slippery trick in Persia.

But the Christians obeying Julian in indifferent Matters, which did not concern their Religion, puts me in mind of a more famous Compliance amongst themselves. Every Body knows how the Church was rent in sunder by Arrianism, and there might be too much stiffness and rigidity on the other hand about

boat Words, for ought I know, but miserably rent it was; which gave Julian great advantage against the Christian Religion.

Now what did the Christians do? Did the Orthodox go and side with Julian, to revenge the Injuries which they had received from the Arians in Constantius's Time; or make use of Julian's Favour which he shewed in restoring them, to crush their Brethren which differed from them. No, there was no seeking to him by either side; only the Donatists of Africk complemented him, and received some small Favours from him, but they were made infamous by it. Honorius the Emperor, as I take it, posted them for it all over the Empire very many Years after, and St. Austin is often teasing them for it in the next Generation.

For instead of that, a Synod held by Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 11. Athanasius, and other Bishops at Alexandria determined, That because the Question of *usia* and *ousians* troubled the Church, and because there were frequent Contentions and Disputes about them, these words should not be used in any Dispute but against the Sabellians.

The

Lib. 6. c. 4.

*The same Historian has a notable passage to the same purpose in Jovian's Life, who succeeded Julian; and who, by the way, when he was chosen Emperor by the unanimous consent of the whole Army, refused it, saying, He was a Christian, and would not be the Emperor of Pagans. The Army, on the other hand, begg'd of him not to decline the Government of them, as a wicked Government, for they were all Christians too; upon which he accepted the Empire. As soon as he came to be Emperor, says the Historian, Questions and Disputes about Doctrines of Faith, were again moved by the Presidents of the Churches. For while Julian reigned, the whole of Christianity lying at stake, they were quiet, and supplicated God with * one accord, that he would be merciful to them. Upon which he makes this Remark; Thus Men use to do, when they are injured by Strangers, (or a Common Enemy) to be united amongst themselves; but when they are freed from Foreign Evils, then to fall into Disorder, and disturb one another.*

O that we had but this piece of common sense, which it seems all the rest of Mankind have! for nothing else, but being

* xxiiv.

to the Reader.

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ing united amongst our selves, can prevent the Forreign Evils which are coming like a Torrent upon us.

All that I shall say further in reference to this Book, is this, that I have been as careful in the Citations, as ever I was in telling Mony; and therefore can only say, as they usually do in that case, I hope it is all right; and if it should chance, in any one particular, to prove otherwise, am ready to make it good.

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Pontifical. Roman. *Antwerp*. 1627.

Some

Some few Citations in the first Sheets, are
not so conveniently placed, but with this
notice, the Discourse it self rectifies them.

Julian



Julian the Apostate.

CHAP. I.

A short Account of Julian's Life.

Constantine the Great, famous for being the first Christian Emperour, divided the whole Empire, at his Death, amongst his three Sons, as a Father does his Estate amongst his Children. That part which came by his Ancestors, the West, he gave to the Eldest, the East to the Second, and that which lay betwixt these, to the Youngest. All which devolved at last upon his second Son *Constantius*, by the

Euseb. vita
Const. l. 4. c. 51

Τὴν μὲν ἄν
πατριαν
ἀνέβη τὸ μέρος
τοῦ βασιλείου

B death

Greg. Naz. In-
vect. 1. p. 58.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 1.
Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.

Greg. Naz. In-
vect. 1. p. 58.

ὡς τὸ ἡμῶν
λαίψατα τῇ
βασίλειᾳ πη-
γόμενοι.

death of his two Brothers. In the mean time the Army used an extremity of Caution to secure them in the quiet possession of their respective Thrones, for being jealous lest their Uncles, and other Kindred, might usurp, they put them to the Sword. In these Outrages of the Souldiery, *Constantius*, and *Aniballianus*, and *Dalmatius Caesar* were slain; but *Gallus*, and *Julian*, the Sons of this last named *Constantius*, were wonderfully delivered and saved, beyond all expectation. The cause of their deliverance is variously represented. *Gregory* every where attributes it to *Constantius* the Emperor; and so does *Julian* himself acknowledg it in his Panegyrick of him: Others say, That *Gallus* the elder Brother was very sick, and the Souldiers concluded, that his Disease would kill him, and save them the labour; and they did not think *Julian* dangerous, being but about five Years of Age. However that be, the Emperour *Constantius* afterward took great care of them, and they were maintained and served like Princes, in one of the Royal Palaces, as being the remaining Branches of his Family,

Family, reserved for the Empire. They both made so good progress in Learning, that they entred into Orders, so as to read the Scriptures to the People, thinking this no diminution to them, but that Piety was the greatest Ornament. The one of them was sincerely pious; though hot and fierce in his Nature; but the other redeeming the time, hid his wicked Temper under a Masque of Gentleness.

Ibid. p. 58, 59.

Gallus after this was made *Cesar*, and a great part of the World put into his Hands; who being accused of Cruelty, and aspiring to the Empire, was rashly cut off by the Emperor.

Ibid. pag. 60.

Julian at the same time fell under the Emperor's suspicion, but by the intercession of the Empress, he had leave to go to *Athens* to study Philosophy.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 1.

How he spent his time there, *Theodoret* informs us. *Julian*, after the death of *Gallus*, grew presumptuous, and had a great mind to the Royal Scepter. For which cause he went up and down *Greece*, to find out Fortune-tellers and Conjurers, having a mind to know whether he should obtain his desire. And he met with a Man that promised to fore-tell him these things;

Theodoret Hist. l. 3. c. 3.

A Short Account.

Greg. Ib. p. 61.

Ibid.

Julian. Ep. 51.

who led him into an Idol Temple, and there initiated him; so that the desire of a Kingdom strip'd this thrice wretched person of his Piety. But according to *Gregory*, he had none to lose at that time. For before this, in his Brother's Time, *Asia* was *Julian's* School of Impiety, for Astronomy, and Nativities, and the vanity of Prognosticating, and that which follows these, Magick; and he wanted nothing but Power to add to his Wickedness. And before that, *Gregory* concludes, that he was a concealed Pagan, when he disputed hard with his Brother in favour of the Heathens, and pretended, that he only tried how he could hold the weaker side of a Question. Which agrees with what himself writes to the *Alexandrians*, when he was Emperor. He advises them not to worship Jesus, as God the Word, whom neither they nor their Fathers ever saw; but the great Sun, which from Eternity all Mankind do see, and behold, and worship, which is the living, and animated, and understanding, and bountiful Image of the Intelligible Father; if they would be ruled by him, who had
tried

of Julian's Life.

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tried both Religions ; who had lived twenty years in their Religion, and was now onwards of twelve in this. However the Fathers all agree, that the occasion of his revolt from Christianity, was from a thirst of Empire, and from consulting his Heathen *Gadbury's* about it ; for *Sozomen* tells us, That no Christian was to meddle with the Arts of fore-telling things to come. *St. Austin* has fully exprest the Matter in few words ; The same God sayes he, that gave the Empire to a good Emperor, gave it likewise to *Julian* the *Apostate*, *Cujus egregiam indolem deceptis amore dominandi sacrilega & detestanda curiositas.*

Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.

August. de Civit. l. 5. c. 21.

The World knew nothing at all of this, nor the Emperor himself, who was now perfectly reconciled to him, and sent for him from *Athens*, and made him *Cesar* ; and as the greatest pledge of his sincere Affection, gave him his Sister *Helena* to Wife ; and gave him the command of an Army, against some of the Northen barbarous people who had invaded *France*. *Julian* indeed was jealous of this sudden advancement, and look'd upon it as

Socrat. l. 3. c. 1.

Socrat. lib.

Greg. Inve. l. 1.
p. 67, 68.

grinning Honour; and in *Homer's* words, at that very time called it, πορφύρεον Σάβανον, a purple Death; and long after, in his large Letter to the Senate and People of *Athens*, he represents it as an Artifice to expose him to danger, and to destroy him. But as *Socrates* has well observ'd, it is plain that the Emperor had no such bad Intent, when he had given him his Sister, for that would be to have Designs against himself. In *France* he was very successful, and routed the Enemy; and having got the Hearts of the common Souldiers, by giving them Money, they declared him Emperor. Thus *Julian* began to Reign; and after he had changed the Magistrates in every Province, and traduced *Constantius* in every City where he came, and having encreased his Numbers, with those that revolted from *Constantius*, he openly laid aside his Hypocrisy of Christianizing, and marches with his Army for *Constantinople*. His pretence was, that he came to excuse his being made Emperor; but in truth it was, to wrest the whole Empire out of *Constantius's* hands. Who, on the other side, was going against the *Persians*;

of Julian's Life.

3

ans; but hearing of *Julian's* March, advanced with his Army to meet him; but fell sick and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not happened to the Christians, *Gregory* concludes, That *Julian* had now paid for his Folly, and not gone so far as *Persia* for his Punishment, as he did afterwards, but had met it now within the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And he gives a very good Reason for his Opinion; for when *Julian* was now lawful Emperor, and the state of Affairs was quite altered; Yet he found much difficulty in conquering that Army.

Ruffinus l. i. c. 26.

Inveſt. i. p. 68.
Καὶ ὅτι ἵδεν τὸ
κεφάλαιον ἔχον-
τι τὸ κεφάλαιον
αὐτῆς ἐν
μικρὸν ἔργον
ἐγένετο.

The first Thing he did, when he came to *Constantinople*, was, to change his Court; By putting to death some, and banishing others, not only for being loyal to the Great King *Constantius*, but for being more loyal to a greater King, and therefore unserviceable to him upon both accounts. The next thing was, to gain the Souldiery; Which he presumed would be an easy business, because some of them would be prevailed upon by Honours; and some again would be drawn away by Simplicity, as knowing no other Law than the Will of

G. Inveſt. i. p. 75.

'their Prince; and as for the rotten
 'and time-serving part, he could not
 'fail of them. And in conclusion, he
 did draw over the greatest part of
 them. 'Nevertheless, God still had a
 'Remnant, more than 7000. that did
 'not bow the Knee to *Baal*, but re-
 'pulsed *Julian*, as a brave strong Wall
 'does a sorry Engine that is played
 'against it. He likewise called home
 the Orthodox Bishops whom *Constanti-*
tius banish'd, for one or both of these

Sozom. l. 5. c. 5.

Theod. l. 3. c. 4.

Reasons, as *Sozomen* will have it; either
 that the Church might be embroiled
 by a Civil War of Contention among
 themselves; or to lay an odium upon
Constantius; which last is in effect
 what *Thodore*t sayes, He did it as a po-
 pular Act.

Ibid. c. 3.

Having thus settled himself in his
 Throne, and made the Army sure to
 him, he began to discover his Malice
 against the Christians. 'For before
 'this he stood in fear of the Souldiers,
 'who were Men principled in the true
 'Religion. First of all, the famous
 '*Constantine* having freed them from
 'their former Errors, instructed them
 'thoroughly in the Doctrine of Truth;
 'and after this his Sons confirmed them

' in

of Julian's Life.

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in it. For though *Constantius*, at the instigation of others, rejected the word *ὁμοούσιον*, yet he sincerely confess'd the meaning of it: For he called the Genuine Son, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God the Word. *Julian* knowing these things very well, did not discover the wickedness of his Heart, nor as yet make any Laws against the Christians. Nay, he charged the People, That they should injure none of the Christians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to Sacrifice against their Wills. *Sozom. l. 1. c. 5.*

They suffered, notwithstanding, very much in this Interval, as well as afterwards, from the insolency of the Heathens, and *Julian's* connivance at it. Of which *Theodore*t gives us a- *Theod. l. 3. c. 6.* bundance of Instances. The Heathens, sayes he, ran about the Streets, and abused the Saints with Scurrility and Mockery, and omitted no sort of reproachful and abusive Language. The Christians, not being able to bear the hard Speeches of these men, reproached them again, and ran down that false Religion which they had in great veneration. The Heathens, on the other side,

Invest. 1.
p. 88.

side, answered them with Blows, and all manner of ill usage, which he there sets down. In some places they proceeded to the most barbarous Outrages. At *Ascalon*, and at *Gaza*, where they ripp'd up Christians, and then stuffing them with Barly, threw them to be devoured by the Swine; as *Gregory* observes, the first Hogs-meat of that kind that ever was in the World, and fit only for *Julian's* Devils. At *Heliopolis* there was one *Cyril* a Deacon, who in the Reign of *Constantine*, burning with a Divine Zeal, broke many of the Images which were there worshipped: The execrable Heathens remembring this Act, not only killed him, but cutting open his Belly, they tasted his Liver. The Historian records it as a Judgment upon those that did it, that in a short time after, their Teeth, and Tongues, and Eyes, dropp'd out of their Heads. But, of all the rest, I must not omit their usage of *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa*; He, in the Time of *Constantius*, throwing down an Idol Temple, built a Church instead of it. The People of *Arethusa* having understood *Julian's* Aim and Intention, soon discovered their hatred against

against *Marcus*, who fled for it; but hearing that some of his Friends were like to suffer upon his Account, he returned and delivered up himself to that barbarous People; who (because he would neither rebuild their Idol Temple, nor pay the Money which they demanded for it) strip'd him, and beat him, and dragged him about the Streets by the Hair of his Head. They threw him into Sinks, and stinking Channels; after that, they set on the Boys to stab and pinck his Body all over with their writing Bodkins; they cut off his Ears with Thread, and otherwise tortured him; they anointed him over with Oil and Honey, and put him in a Net, and hoisted him up in the open Air, in the very heat of Summer, to expose him to Bees and Wasps, and such mischievous Insects. And, at last, when they were weary of abusing and tormenting him, they would have compounded with him for one piece of Gold. He said, No; it was the same impiety to give one Half-penny, as to give the whole Sum.

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It is observable, that this *Marcus* was one of those that saved *Julian*, and privately conveyed him away, at that time of danger, which we spoke of before. Whereupon *Gregory* has this sharp saying; 'For that one thing perhaps it was, that he justly suffered all this, and deserved to suffer a great deal more, because he saved, un- wares, so great an Evil to the whole World.

Now, all this was done, and much more, not only without, but against Law: whereby it appears, how much an established Religion is valued, when the Prince himself happens to be of another. For that alone authorizes the greatest Violence and Oppression, and Outrages against them that differ from him. The Heathens, you see, did not stay for Laws and Edicts to warrant such proceedings, which indeed they never had at all; but as soon as they knew how *Julian* stood affected, they took that for their Cue, to act these Tragedies upon the Christians. They knew it would please the Emperor, and that was an unwritten Law. As *Gregory* wisely observes upon this occasion; 'The Will and Plea-

Greg. Inveſt. 1.

P. 90.

Inveſt. 1. p. 92.

Pleasure of the Emperour, is an unwritten Law, back'd with Power, and much stronger than written ones, which are not supported by Authority. Upon which account he imputes all this Persecution to *Julian* himself, who being a Philosopher, avoided the name of a Persecutor; and compares those that injured the Christians, to several Implements of Mischiefs, but him to the first Mover who set them on work.

This under-hand Persecution, was followed with one more open and publick; and though it were not so very severe in it self, yet it still encouraged the former. As *Theodore's* *Theod. l. 3.c.7.* words are in the next Chapter, 'A thousand other Insolencies every where, both by Sea and Land, were then committed, by the Wicked against the Godly. For, from this time, the hatred of God publickly made Laws against Christianity. To begin with that which *Gregory* says was *Invect. 1.p.81.* a Law, though a childish and ridiculous one; whereby it was ordered, That Christians should be called *Galileans*; as if Men were to be put out of conceit with their Religion, by a Nick-

Theod. l. 3. c. 7.

*Socrat. l. 3.
c. 12.*

Aug. l. 1. c. 12.

Julian. Ep. 42.

Nick-Name, especially when our Blessed Saviour himself suffered so much in that kind, as the same Father honestly observes. In the next place, he prohibited the Children of Christians to have any Poetry, Rhetorick, or Philosophical Learning; for, says he, according to the Proverb, *We are shot with our own Feathers*: Or, as *Socrates* expresses it, He commanded, by a Law, That they should have no Schooling or Education, lest by this Advantage they might be better able to oppose the Disputants of the *Gentiles*. Some of the Fathers say, That he would suffer no Christian Masters to teach, and make no mention at all of his forbidding the Youth to learn. Nay, *Julian* himself says, That it would be an unjust thing to bar Children, which knew not which way to turn themselves, from the right way; and says expressly, That their Children were not prohibited. Upon this *Baronius* wonders at the Ecclesiastical Writers, for saying, They were prohibited. Bishop *Montague* wonders more at him, for contradicting all Antiquity. These great Men could not see a Consequence, which every poor *Hugond* that

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that comes over, perfectly understands. For by removing the Christian Masters, he did effectually deny the Children of Christians any benefit of Learning. For who would send their Children to Heathen Masters, where they should be in apparent danger of being principled and trained up in Heathenism? So that this Liberty which he indulged them, was a thousand times better let alone; it was one of his Traps and deceitful Favours, wherein consisted the true Spirit and Genius of Julian's Persecution. And this hath been one of the Modern ways of extirpating the pestilent Northern Heresy in France; where the Protestants have had the liberty, and almost a necessity, of sending their Children to Popish Schools, by being allowed but one Protestant Schoolmaster, where five would have been little enough. He made another Law, That those that would not forsake Christianity, should have no place in the Guards, nor be Governours in the Provinces. Immediately, as Socrates adds, who were true Christians, and who had only past for such, were made as manifest to all Men, as if they had been

28. q. 1. Novm

Theod. 1. 3. c. 7.

Socrat. lib. 2.

c. 13.

set upon a Stage. They that were hearty sincere Christians, readily threw off their Military Girdles, chusing rather to endure any thing, than to deny Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovian*, and *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who were afterwards Emperors. Of the other sort, who preferred the Money and Honour which is to be had here, before true Happiness, was *Ecebolius*, who was always of the Emperor's Religion. Under *Constantius* he was an hot Christian, and under *Julian* a fierce Heathen, and after *Julian's* Time, would fain have been admitted for a Christian again.

Invest. l. p. 86.

Gregory likewise makes mention of his Edicts against the Churches, to spoil them of their Endowments, Plate, and Publick Stock; which was performed with Military Execution, and in some places with much Cruelty. And the last was, to levy Money upon those that would not Sacrifice, to defray the Charges of his *Persian* Expedition.

*Socrat. l. 3.
c. 13.*

These are all the Laws which I can find he made against Christians; tho he designed far greater Severities against

against them, when he came home again from *Persia*. He intended, among lesser Matters, as *Gregory* tells us, to lay them all under a kind of Civil Excommunication, for they should have no benefit of the Law, unless they would Sacrifice in the Presence of the Courts of Justice; so that whatever Injuries had been done to them, they were to have no Remedy. But to the great happiness of the Christians, that day never came, for he was killed in *Persia*: but by whom, and in what manner, we refer that to a more proper place.

Invest. 1. p. 2.
P. 54.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

The Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession.

Julian's coming to the Crown, a Pagan, was a perfect surprize to the World; so that we cannot expect to read of any Endeavours used to prevent his Succession, and to fore-close him upon the score of his Religion. There can be no Petitions to *Constantius* to exclude him, nor Addresses in favour of him; No Lives and Fortunes rashly staked down to maintain Impossibilities, to defend Him and Christianity together. These things are not to be had, and therefore we must be content to be without them: And the rather, because the Fathers have told us as much of their mind in this Point, as if they had actually, either Petitioned or Address'd.

To proceed the more faithfully and clearly in this Matter, it will be necessary

fary to consider how the Succession stood, and what Right and Title *Julian* had to succeed to the Empire. And then, whether the Christians would have been willing to set aside this Title, and to have excluded him, purely for his Religion.

1. And in the first place, there is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary : There are not words in the World to express it more plainly, than it is done in these following Testimonies. *Euse-*

bius, speaking of *Constantine* the Great, hath these words ;

‘ Thus the Throne of the
‘ Empire descended to him
‘ from his Father, and by the
‘ Law of Nature was refer-

‘ ved for his Sons, and for
‘ their Posterity, and was to descend
‘ for ever as another Paternal Inheri-
‘ tance does. To which we shall sub-
joyn as plain a Testimony from an

Heathen. *Eumenius*, in his *Panegyrick* to the same *Constantine*, besides a great deal more to the same purpose, tells him,
‘ It was not the casual consent of Men,

Euseb. vita Const. l. i. c. 5.
ἔγω δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ βα-
σιλείας παρέδωκεν μὲν εἰς αὐ-
τὸν κατὰ κληρὸν, θεσμῷ δὲ ἐν-
στασι πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς τῶν
ἐκγόνοις ἐταμιεύετο, εἰς
ἀγάθην τεχέρον ἐξ ἧς
πατρὶς ἐμνημόνευτο καὶ
ἐσθ.

Non fortuita
hominum
consensio, non
repentinus ali-
quis favoris e-
ventus te

Principem fecit : Imperium nascendo meruisti. Quod quidem mihi
Deorum immortalium munus & primum videtur & maximum in la-
cem statim foelicem venire, &c.

‘ it was not any sudden effect of their
 ‘ Favour which made you a Prince.
 ‘ You gained the Empire by being born
 ‘ into the World ; which seems to me
 ‘ the first and greatest Gift of the Gods
 ‘ for one to come into the World
 ‘ Great, and to have that at home ready
 ‘ for him, which others can hardly
 ‘ attain with all the toyl and labour of
 ‘ their whole Lives. Now if *Constantine*
 the Great was born to the Empire,
 so was *Julian*, having the same Royal
 Blood flowing in his Veins ; being the
 Grand-son, as the other was the Son,
 of *Constantius Chlorms*. After such full
 and pregnant Proofs, it would be
 time ill spent to heap up more ; such

Julian. Orat. 3. p. 202.
 Ἦτος παῖδων ἡύεσσι οἱ
 κληρονομῆσαι τὸ πῦρ
 καὶ τὸ ἔξωθεν γεγονὸς ἦδη
 ἔχον πρὸς οἰκουμενὸς αἰ-
 παίνε κῦρεθ.

as that of *Julian* in his *Panegyrick* to the Empress *Eusebia*, where he says ; ‘ That
 ‘ *Constantius* married her, to
 ‘ have Heirs for his Great
 ‘ Lordship of almost all the
 ‘ World. He having none, *Julian*
 himself was the sole and undoubted
 Heir ; for in him the Family was af-
 terwards extinct.

Only there are some who would be
 glad (whether they understand what
 it is or not) to see some Divine Right
 mixed

mixed with a Title, for that would make it sacred and strong indeed. To please these Men if we can, let us again consider that Clause of *Eusebius* in the place last mentioned, where he says, That the Empire was entailed,

νομῷ φύσεως, by the Edict of Nature; which I think is the most sure and divine settlement that can be. But lest we should think this Expression fell from him by chance, in another place he varies the Phrase,

and calls it, νόμῳ φύσεως, the Law of Nature. Speaking of *Constantius Clorus*; 'He 'past over the Inheritance

'of the Empire, by the Law of Nature, to his Eldest Son, and then

'died. And in another place he has these words; 'His Son *Constantine* im-

'mediately receiving the Government, 'was declared absolute Emperour and

'*Augustus* by the Army, and long before that, by the great King of all,

'God himself. If this will not do, I know not what measure of Divine

Right will serve their turn, unless they would have a Crown to drop from the Clouds. And *Julian* pretends to no less than that, in his Epistle to the

Euseb. vi. Com. lib. c. 15.
Τὸν κληρὸν τῆ βασιλείας
νόμῳ φύσεως τῷ τῷ ἡλι-
κίαν πατρὶ ἡν τῷ πατρὶ
πατρὶ δὲ διαβεβαιώσας.

Euseb. Hist. l. 2.
cap. 25.
Τότε πᾶσι
Κωνσταντίνῳ
εὐδοκίᾳ δέχον-
τι, &c.

*Julian. Ep. 25.*Τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ
αὐτῆς θεότητι.

Jews; where he makes them large Promises of Quiet and Safety under his Government; 'That, says he, enjoying this Security, you may enlarge your Prayers for my Reign, to God the Creator of the World, who has vouchsafed to crown me with his own unspotted right hand.

2. And yet the Fathers had the Conscience to set aside such a Title as this, and would have done an hundred more such, to secure their Religion. They were not so happy indeed, as to be before-hand with *Julian*, and to get him excluded; because, as I said before, there was not the least suspicion that he had changed his Religion; but they shew their good-will sufficiently by what they said and did afterward. If they had no occasion to make their Application to *Constantine* about this Business while he was here, will it not do full as well, if they call after him to Heaven, and expostulate the Matter with him there. And this *Gregory* does in several places; In the very beginning of his *Invective*, which he made presently upon *Julian's* death. After he has summoned all Nations to hear his Speech, all that dwell in the World,

World, all People, Tribes, and Languages, all Men that are or shall be: And that his Preaching might go the farther, all the Powers of Heaven, all the Angels, whose work it was to destroy the Tyrant, who had not kill'd a *Sihon* King of the *Amorites*, nor an *Og* the King of *Bashan*, but had kill'd the Dragon the Apostate, the great Designer, the Common Enemy and Adversary of all, &c. He applies himself particularly to *Constantius*:
 'Hear, O thou Soul of *Constantius*
 'the Great, (if you can hear at all
 'what we say) and the Souls of all
 'Christian Kings before him; but his
 'especially, for as much as having
 'grown up with the Inheritance of
 'Christ, and enlarged it to his Power,
 'and establish'd it by a long continu-
 'ance, so as to be upon this account
 'the most renowned of all the Kings
 'that ever were, (O the mischief of it!)
 'he committed a gross mistake very
 'unworthy of his own Piety: Not be-
 'ing aware of it, he bred up for the
 'Christians an Enemy of Christ. And
 'he did amiss to be good natured in
 'this Instance only, in saving and ma-
 'king him a King, who was both ill-

Inveſt. 1. p. 49.
50.

The Sense of the Prim. Christians

‘ saved, and made an ill King. And for
 ‘ this reason he is likely to be most de-
 ‘ lighted, as with the Destruction of
 ‘ Impiety, and the Restoration of Chri-
 ‘ stianity, so likewise with this Speech.
 Which in the next words he dedicates
 to God, as a Thanksgiving Oration,
 and a Sacrifice of Praise; so solemn it
 is. Now here is enough to shew that
Constantius would never have made
Julian Cæsar, nor have set up an Ene-
 my of Christ over the Christians, if
 he had known him to have been
 such.

Invect. 1. p. 62.
 63, 64.

But the same Father will give us bet-
 ter Measure in another place, in these
 words; ‘ *Julian* was presently Heir of
 ‘ his Brother’s Kingdom, but not of
 ‘ his Piety; and not long after of him
 ‘ likewise who made him King; who
 ‘ partly gave way to it, partly was
 ‘ forced by Death, and suffered such a
 ‘ defeat as was mischievous and per-
 ‘ nicious to the whole World. What
 ‘ have you done, O Divineſt Emperour,
 ‘ and greateſt lover of Christ! (for I am
 ‘ fallen to reprehending you, as if you
 ‘ were present and in hearing; al-
 ‘ though I know you to be much a-
 ‘ bove my reproof, being placed with
 ‘ God,

‘ God, and inheriting the Glory which
 ‘ is there, and are only gone from
 ‘ hence to exchange your Kingdom):
 ‘ What strange kind of Counsel is this
 ‘ which you have taken, who did far
 ‘ excell all other Kings in Wisdom and
 ‘ Understanding ! And after he has
 magnified him upon several accounts,
 he thus proceeds :

‘ You, who were led by the Hand of
 ‘ God into every Counsel and Enter-
 ‘ prize, whose Wisdom was admired
 ‘ above your Power, and again your
 ‘ Power more than your Wisdom, but
 ‘ your Piety was valued above them
 ‘ both : How comes it to pass there-
 ‘ fore, that in this Matter you should
 ‘ appear the only ignorant and incon-
 ‘ siderate Person ! What haste was
 ‘ there of that cruel kindness ? Which
 ‘ of the Devils stole in along with you
 ‘ at that Consult ? How have you
 ‘ thus, in a small and short point of
 ‘ Time, brought and delivered up to a
 ‘ common Cut-throat, your great Inhe-
 ‘ ritage, and your Father’s Glory, I
 ‘ mean the Christians, that shining
 ‘ Nation which is in all parts of the
 ‘ World ; that Royal Priesthood, which
 ‘ has

Ἀπ’ ἀνδρώων
 φιλανδρωπίας
 τίς συνεστῆλ-
 δε δαιμόνων
 τοῦ σκώμματος.

‘has been encreased with much toil
‘and much sweat?

To this Accusation of this good
Emperour; he presently subjoins an
Apology, and shews at last, that what
he did was through Ignorance; ‘For
‘who could be ignorant, even of those
‘that knew him but indifferently, how
‘that for the sake of Religion, and for
‘the love and good-will he bare to us,
‘he not only would have neglected
‘him, or the Honour of his whole
‘Family, or the Addition of an Em-
‘pire; but also that he would have
‘made no difficulty of parting with
‘his very Empire, and all things he
‘had in the World, and his Life it
‘self (than which no Man has any
‘thing more precious) for our Secu-
‘rity and Safety. And after a great
deal more to the same purpose, he says
thus; ‘But simplicity and plain-hear-
‘tedness are not watchful, and weak-
‘ness is joined with good Nature; and
‘who are freest from Wickedness, least
‘suspect it. For this reason, what
‘would come afterwards, was not
‘known, and the Masque was not
‘discovered.

In this Remarkable Passage, we have all this for our present purpose.

1. That the making of *Julian* a *Cæsar*, (by which means he had an easie Passage to the Crown, for it was the next step to it) was a rash, foolish, and inconsiderate action; that it was cruel and inhumane, and fit only for some Devil to advise.

Sorom. l. i. c. 5.
Κατὰ τὸ δειν-
τερον ὅλημα
τῆς βασιλείας
τετυμνωσὶ
Καίσαρ ὦν.
Somewhat like
our Prince of
Wales, or King
of the Romans.

2. That the fault and Mischief of this Action, was not because he usurp'd afterwards upon *Constantius*, or upon any other Consideration whatsoever, but purely because the Christian Religion suffered by it.

And, 3. that *Constantius* can be no otherwise excused, than by his ignorance of *Julian's* defection from Christianity.

And all this not nakedly set down, and coldly delivered, but with an Emphasis, and the greatest vehemency imaginable. He does not say, *Constantius* was to blame for this; but he calls him to account for it, he follows him with Interrogatories, and bids him answer from Heaven what he has done. He does not barely say, That if *Constantius* had known *Julian's* Religion, he would not have made him

Cæsar;

Cesar; but he says, that he would have disinherited his whole Family first, he would have parted with his Empire, he would have strip'd himself of all, and lost his Life rather than have done it. And accordingly we find, that as soon as *Constantius* understood his Error, he bitterly bewailed it, which was just at his Death. He could not know it much sooner; For after *Julian* was declared Emperour,

Am. Marcel. l. 21. ad init.
 Utq; omnes nullo impedi-
 ente ad suum favorem
 alliceret, inhzere cultui
 Christiano fingeat, à quo
 jam pridem occultè de-
 sciverat; progressus in
 eorum Ecclesiam solem-
 niter Numine oratio dis-
 cessit.

and had set up for himself, as *Ammianus* tells us, 'He still
 'feigned himself a Christian.
 'And though in private he
 'performed his Heathenish
 'Rites, trusting some few
 'with the secret, yet he pub-
 'lickly went to Church on
 'Twelfth-day, and after he had been
 'devout at the Service, he came away
 'again. This was at *Vienna*, not quite
 ten Months before the Emperour's
 Death.

To return to what we were speak-
 ing of before, *Gregory* says, That *Con-*
stantius made his excuse in many words
 both to God and Man, for his kind-
 ness to *Julian*; and shewed the Chri-
 stians, with much earnestness, the Con-
 cernment

cernment he had for the true Religion. This he did at his laſt gasp, when otherwiſe it was all one to him who had the Empire, for he had done with it. And in another place, and upon a different occaſion, he has theſe words. 'They report *Constantius* repented him 'at his laſt breath, when every Man is 'a juſt Judge of himſelf, becauſe of the 'Tribunal which is in the other 'World; for theſe three things he acknowledged were evil and unworthy 'of his Reign; the ſlaughter of his 'Kindred, and his declaring of the 'Apoſtate, and his innovating in Matters of Faith. And with theſe words 'in his Mouth he is ſaid to have gone 'out of the World. This is ten times more than if *Constantius* had actually excluded *Julian*, for he might have done that, and been ſorry for it at his Death; as Men generally are for all the Actions of their Life in which they are not ſatisfied. But now he repents him upon his Death-bed, where Men's Eyes are open, and they uſually have their ſobereſt Thoughts about them, that he had not done it, and reckons it in the number of thoſe things which have blackned his Reign.

Invest. 1. p. 59.
Or his vigorous
expedition,
dia t' opmns

Orat. in laud.
Athanafii,
p. 389.

This

Inveſt. 2.
p. 132.

This was the old fashioned Doctrine of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who alone, except *St. John*, has had the Honour to be called *the Divine*; this was the ſenſe of *Baſil the Great*, for *Gregory* entitles him likewise to theſe Inveſtives; and this was the Conſcience of a Dying Emperour. If this Doctrine ſhall diſpleaſe any of theſe Men, who deceiving, and being deceived, ſay, That the Succeſſion cannot be altered, which is puniſhable by the Laws of the Land; or that it ought not to be altered for the ſafety and ſecurity of the true Religion, which is contrary to what theſe Fathers aſſert with ſo much vehemency: In that caſe I have theſe two reaſonable Requeſts to make to them.

1. That they would pleaſe to confute this Doctrine which they diſlike, and prove it falſe.

And then, 2. that they would never hereafter fetch their Mountebank Receipts of Prayers and Tears, and ſuch like Encouragements to Arbitrary Government, of which I ſhall ſay more anon, out of the Writings of theſe very Fathers; but let them paſs from hence-forth for dangerous and
Anti-

Anti-monarchial Authors. Whom we can the better spare at this time, because the whole Christian World was of the same mind. Which, by the way, *Julian* understood very well; for what else made him go to Church; Nay, the Christians had such an aversion to a Pagan Successor, that they could not endure him, when he was become their lawful Emperour.

This Am. Marcell. expressly acknowledges in the passage just now cited.

How fond they were of him, and what welcome they gave him to the Crown, and in how great heaviness they were at his Death, shall appear at large in the following Chapters.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

AND here a Man may almost lose himself in the great variety of Instances, which may be given of their Hatred and Contempt of *Julian*, when he was Emperour. How they reproached him and his Religion to his very Beard ; beat his Priests before his Face, and had done him too, if he had not got out of the way ; prayed for his Confusion, and triumphed at his Death, and loaded his Memory with the greatest disgrace and Infamy. These things will better be seen in the History and Relation of the Matter of Fact ; which I shall put into the best order I can, by giving an account of what was done in his Life-time, and then all that concerns his Death, and after that, how they used his Memory.

Their

Their Behaviour in his Life-time, will fall under these three Heads, of their *Words*, and *Actions*, and *Devotions*. I shall begin with the first of these, where *Julian* began with them. And they sufficiently requited him for calling them *Galileans*, for they named him *Idolianus* instead of *Julianus*, and *Pisæus*, and *Adonæus*, from his worshipping of *Jupiter* and *Adonis*, and *Bull-burner*, from the great number of them which he sacrificed. The *Antiochians* exceeded in this kind of spiteful usage, and chased him into the revengeful humour of Writing a Book against them, which has preserv'd the memory of those Indignities which they put upon him. They derided the shape of his Body, his Gate, his Goat's Beard, every thing that belonged to him, as you may see in the very beginning of that Book. And afterwards he tells them they were very happy Men, who had renounced all service either of the Gods, or Laws, or him who was keeper of the Laws; and that the Gods, as well as he, had suffered dishonour from that City. It was a saying among them, that *Chi* and *Cappa* had never done any injury to

Invest. i. p. 82.

Julian Mispogon. p. 88.

Ib. p. 89.

their City; by which Letters they meant Christ and *Constantius*. Yes, says he, let me tell you freely, *Constantius* did you one single Injury, that when he had made me *Cæsar*, he did not kill me. Two or three times, in that little Book, he mentions their *Anapæsts*, and Lampooning his poor sorry Beard. He complains, that whereas the *French* loved him for the likeness of his Humour, and took up Arms for him, and gave him Money, and applauded him; the

P. 94. 95.

P. 95. & 112.

Antiochians did the quite contrary; they said, That he turned the World up-side down, and that his Beard was fit to make Ropes of; and that he made War against *Chi*, and they wish'd for *Cappa* again. And after *Julian* had written this Book, they were smart upon him again; and though he was inwardly enrag'd, he was forc'd to dissemble it at the present.

Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. Post quæ multa in se facere dicta comperiens, coactus dissimulare pro tempore, Ira sufflabatur interna.

These things indeed were not said to his Face; but they were the common talk of the Christians just under his Nose, while he lay with his Army about seven months in that City, to be in a readiness for the following Cam-

Campaign. And he was so enraged at them, that at his departure, when some wish'd him a happy Expedition, and a glorious Return, he very roughly said, That he would never see them more, their Nick-names and Reproaches stuck so in his Stomach. But who commends them for this? Even that does no less a Man than *Theodoret*, who lived under two of the four first General Councils, and was himself present, and a great part of the last of them. He puts it all upon the score of their Zeal and Love for their Religion. His words are these; 'That the *Antiochians*, who
Lib. 23. Nondum ira quam ex compellationibus & probis conceperat emollitâ, loquebatur asperius se eos asserens postea non visurum.
vide 8. Act. Concil. Chalcedonensis.
Theod. l. 3. c. 22.
 'had received their Christianity from
 'the greatest pair of Apostles, *Peter*
 'and *Paul*, and had a warm affection
 'for the Lord and Saviour of all, did
 'always abominate *Julian*, who ought
 'never to be remembred, you have his
 'own word for it. For, for this Reason, he writ a Book against them, and
 'called them the *Beard-baters*.

2. They did not only thus scoff at him, and deride him behind his back; but they took the freedom to reproach him and his Religion to his Face; of

which I shall give these two Instances. The first of a Noble-man of *Berea*; the Story is very remarkable upon several accounts, which *Theodoret* gives us in this manner. ‘*Julian*, before his Expedition against the *Persians*, sent to consult the Oracles, who promised him certain Victory. And after his Victory, he designed the ruin of the Christians, and threatned to set up the Idol of *Venus* in the Christian Churches. Marching on with these Threatnings, he was overcome by one single man in *Berea*. This man was indeed in other respects an eminent Person, for he was Governour there; but his Zeal made him more eminent. For seeing his Son warping towards the false Religion, which then prevailed, he turned him out of Doors, and publickly disinherited him. But he coming to the Emperour, who was but one Stage from the City, declared to him, both his own Perswasion, and how his Father had disinherited him. *Julian* bid the young man set his Heart at rest, promising that he would reconcile his Father to him. So when he came to *Berea*, he invited the Magistrates, and chief men, to a Feast, and

‘and amongst these was this young
‘Man’s Father; and him, with his Son,
‘he ordered to sit next himself. And
‘about the middle of Dinner, *Julian*
‘says to the Father, In my mind it is
‘not just to force a man’s Judgment,
‘which is otherwise inclined, and to
‘reduce it, against his Will, to the
‘other side. Therefore do not you
‘force your Son, against his mind, to
‘follow your Opinion. For neither
‘do I force you to follow mine, al-
‘though I can very easily compel you.
‘But the Father, sharpening his Dis-
‘course with a Divine Faith, answered,
‘O King, do you speak of this Villain,
‘who is hated by God, and has pre-
‘ferr’d a Lie before the true Religion?
‘But, says *Julian*, putting on again a
‘Vizard of Meekness; Friend, leave
‘Railing; and turning his Face to the
‘young man, he said, I will take care
‘of you my self, since I have not pre-
‘vailed with your Father to do it.

‘I have not told this Story in vain,
‘(says *Theodoret*) but was willing to
‘shew, not only the admirable free-
‘dom of this Divine Person, but also
‘that there were very many who de-
‘spised *Julian*’s Power and Authority.

And that did *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, with a witness, long before. 'Being led by the hand, for he was blind, 'and in Years, he came to Court to 'the Emperour, when he was publickly 'sacrificing to *Fortune*, and reproached 'him much, calling him Impious, Apostate, and Atheist. And he reproached 'him again with his Blindness, and 'saying, Your *Galilean* God will not 'cure you. But *Maris* replied to the 'Emperour, with more boldness than 'before; says he, I thank God for 'striking me with Blindness, that I may 'not see thy Face, who art thus fallen 'into Impiety. The Emperour said nothing to this, but he persecuted him 'grievously afterwards. And the aged Bishop, I suppose, had more wit than to expect any other.

Theod. l. 3. c. 10.

Chrysost. Hom.

40.

Theod. l. 3. c. 16.

It would be endless to reckon up the Sayings of *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, whose Anniversary Sermon St. *Chrysostome* in his Time preach'd at *Antioch*; of those Souldiers that were trepan'd into Sacrificing, by one of *Julian's* Stratagems; and of many others, who did not spare him in the least: And therefore in these Matters, the Reader must be satisfied with a taste only.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Their Actions.

HAVING shewed you, the manner at least, how they treated him in *Words*, I proceed now to some of their *Actions*, which make manifest their hatred to him, and how they held him in the very lowest degree of Contempt. I shall give but two Instances, and the first is the story of *Valentinian*, which *Theodore* ushers in with this Preface: ‘And others that Theod. l. 3.
 ‘were in places of Dignity and Authority, using the like boldness (as *Juveninus* and *Maximus* did) enjoyed
 ‘equal Crowns. For *Valentinian* himself, who was afterwards Emperour,
 ‘but was then a Colonel of the Household Guards, did not hide the Zeal
 ‘which he had for the true Religion. For when that Thunder-struck Mad-
 ‘man went in Procession to the Temple of *Fortune*, the Chaplains stood
 ‘on both sides of the Doors, cleansing,

c. 15.

'as they counted it, with Sprinklings,
 'or Holy Water, those that entred in.
 'But when *Valentinian*, who gained
 'both Kingdoms, of Earth and Hea-
 'ven, for what he now did, walking
 'before the Emperor, saw this Holy
 'Water coming near his Cloaths; he
 'struck the Chaplain with his Fist, say-
 'ing, that it would not cleanse, but de-
 'file him. *Julian* seeing what passed,
 'sent him away to a Garrison lying by
 'a Desart, and gave order that there
 'he should spend his days. But in a
 'Year, and a few Months time, he was
 'made Emperor, in reward of his
 'Confession. For the Righteous Judge
 'not only rewards those that are con-
 'cerned for Religion in the Life to
 'come, but sometimes he presently
 'gives them the recompence of their
 'pious labours, by these previous Gifts
 'now, confirming the belief of those
 'which Christians hope for hereafter.

You see how *Theodore* magnifies
 this Action; and though it was so high
 a breach of the Peace, as might have
 cost him his right Hand, if not his
 Head, in many Courts; yet he makes
 him no less than a Confessor for
 it.

And

And so St. *Austin* calls him; ‘*Va-*
 ‘*lentinian* was a Confessor of the Chri-
 ‘*stian* Faith under *Julian*, and lost his
 ‘place in the Guards for it.

August. de
Civit. l. 18.
c. 52.

Our next Instance, is a Passage of
 as great a Man in his way, and that is,
 old *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum*, Fa-
 ther to *Gregory Nazianzen*; We have
 it in the Funeral Speech or Sermon of
 the Divine upon his Father’s Death;
 and after he has said a great deal in his
 praise, he has these words; ‘But I sup-
 ‘pose that some of them who knew
 ‘his Life very well, have wondred a
 ‘good while, that I should be so taken
 ‘up in these things aforesaid, as if I
 ‘had nothing else in commendation of
 ‘him; and that I should make no
 ‘mention of the difficulty of the times,
 ‘against which he seemed to have been
 ‘set in battel-*array*. Come on then, and
 ‘let me add these things to what has
 ‘been said. Our Age bore such an
 ‘Evil, as no Age did before, and I
 ‘suppose none will hereafter, an Em-
 ‘peror that was an Apostate, both
 ‘from God and from Reason, who
 ‘thought it a small business to conquer
 ‘the *Persians*, but a great Work to
 ‘reduce the Christians. And the Devils
 ‘that

Greg. Naz.
Orat. 19.
P. 307.

'that drove him, perswading him to it,
 'he omitted no manner of Impiety, by
 'Persuasions, by Threatnings, by So-
 'phistry, drawing over to him, not on-
 'ly those that he gained by Artifices,
 'but those also which he forced by Vi-
 'olence. Now who is there to be
 'found that more despised this Empe-
 'ror, or had a greater hand in destroy-
 'ing him, than my Father? Of his
 'contempt of him, amongst many o-
 'ther, both those Archers, and their
 'Commander, are a proof, whom he
 'brought against our Church; as ei-
 'ther to take possession of it, or to
 'destroy it: For having assaulted ma-
 'ny others, he came hither likewise
 'with the same intent, and imperiously
 'demanded the Temple. He so far
 'failed of accomplishing any thing of
 'what he desired, that if he had
 'not presently got out of my Father's
 'way, (being aware of it, either of
 'himself, or by some bodies advice)
 'he might have gone away kick'd;
 'the Bishop boiling with Anger a-
 'gainst him, and with Zeal for the
 'Temple.

I have had more trouble with this
 Passage, than with all the rest in the
 Book.

Book. For I have often tried to make this beating intended for the Captain of the Archers, and have been ready to make *Solæcisms* in the Greek, to avoid the greater *Solæcism* of an Emperor of the World, awed and terrified with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do; it is too late for me to consult *Julian's* Honour, or to alter *Gregory's* words.

And that you may be satisfied this is the sense of them, I have here set down the Comment of a Metropolitan of Crete, who was a better *Grecian* than I ever expect to be.

Ac contemptiois, præter multa alia, documenta quoque sunt sagittarii illi, & dux eorum, quos impius ille adversus Ecclesias concitabat, tanquam scilicet eas aut assumpturus & subacturus, aut everurus ac deleturus. Cum quibus scilicet omnibus nihil eorum, quæ cupiebat, perfecit, in tale Ecclesiæ propugnaculum incidens, quin potius, nisi quam primum ipsi cessisset (nimirum vel ipse per se intelligens, vel alium quendam consultorem audiens) etiam pedibus confusus abiisset, eo nimirum vehementiore quodam adversus eum Divino Zelo commoto. Ergo contemptiois quidem luculentum hoc argumentum est.

*Elie Cretensis
Comment. in
locum.*

Here

Here you have the description of one of the Lachrymists of old, who at fourscore and ten, and after he had been thirty five years a Bishop, was an over-match for a Pagan Emperor; and having vanquish'd him, and won the Field, kept it as long as he lived, which was about nine years after *Julian's* Death. And which is more than that, the Garlands and Trophies of this Victory are hung up in the Church by the hands of another Bishop, to satisfy the expectation of a number of good Christian People, *Basil* the Great assisting at the Ceremony.

And now know I no more than the Pope of *Rome*, what to make of all this, what they meant by it, or upon what Principles these men proceeded. Whether the Laws of their Country allowed them (which I am sure the Laws of our Country do not allow a Man to imagine) to offer Violence to their lawful Emperor; or whether old *Gregory* distinguish'd, and did not resist *Julian*, but only the Devil, which his Son so often tells us was in him; Or how it was, I will never stand guessing. Only this we may be assured of,

of, that none of these Bishops had ever been in *Scotland*, nor had learn'd to fawn upon an Apostate, and a mortal Enemy to their Religion.

C H A P. V.

Their Devotions. And first of their Psalms.

THese Passages which we have hitherto related, were in common conversation in the Streets and Market-place, in the Court and abroad in the World, where the Christians might chance not to have their Religion about them, and so shew themselves Men of like Passions with other Men; but when they go to Church, and enter upon Holy Ground; or whenever they make their Addresses to God in Prayers and Praises, there one may expect to see the flights of their self-denying and suffering Religion. There one may justly expect they should lay aside all their animosity against *Julian*,

lian, though he were their Enemy, and for that reason pray the harder for him. Yes, so they do, the wrong way; they cannot sing a Psalm, but they make his Confusion the Burden of it. And as they order the Matter, their Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church indeed, for they are Darts, and Arrows, and Fire-brands, and Death. If moving all the Power, and soliciting all the Vengeance of Heaven against a Man; if calling for the Sword, and the Plagues of *Egypt*, be praying for their Pagan Emperor, they gave him enough of that, as you shall see anon in their own words.

I shall begin with their Psalms, which I shall set down so, as not to omit the Circumstances I find with them.

*Theod. lib. 3.
cap. 9, & 10.*

‘*Julian* ordered the Christians to
‘remove the Bones of *Babylas*, and
‘of the young Men who were mar-
‘tyr’d with him, from *Daphne*, where
‘*Apollo’s* Temple stood. Who gladly
‘went and fetch’d the Coffin, and all
‘the People went dancing before it,
‘and singing *David’s* Psalms, repeat-
‘ing after every Verse, *Confounded*
‘be all they that worship graven Images!

Julian

'Julian not bearing the Disgrace
 'which was hereby put upon him, the
 'next day commanded the Leaders of
 'this Dance to be apprehended. *Salu-*
 '*stinus* the Governour, who was him-
 'self an Heathen, dissuaded the Em-
 'peror from it; but when he saw that
 '*Julian* could not contain his Passion,
 'he went and seized the first which
 'came to hand, which was *Theodorus*,
 'a young Man, adorned with Divine
 'Zeal, walking in the Market-place:
 'Him he tortured from Morning to
 'Night with so much Cruelty, and so
 'many fresh Executioners, as no Age
 'has mentioned the like. And when
 'he was upon the Rack, and a Tor-
 'turer plying him on either side, he
 'did nothing but sing over again that
 'Psalm which the Congregation sung
 'the day before, with an unconcerned
 'and chearful Countenance. This
 'made *Ruffinus*, who likewise tells this
 'Story, afterwards ask him whether he
 'felt any Pain? 'Who said that he felt
 'a little; but there stood by him a cer-
 'tain Youth, who all the while wiped
 'off his Sweat with a very white Lin-
 'nen Cloath, and often poured cold
 'Water upon him, which so delighted
 'him,

Ruffinus, lib. 1
 cap. 36.

‘him, that he was sorry when he
 ‘was taken off the Rack. For when
 ‘*Salustius* saw that he had spent all that
 ‘Cruelty upon him to no purpose, he
 ‘put Fetters upon him, and kept him
 ‘in Prison. But he was soon released,
 ‘and no body else punish’d upon that
 account. *Julian*, it seems, did not
 care to have that Psalm any oftner
 repeated; which he might very rea-
 sonably expect, when so much Cruel-
 ty could not make a Youth to alter his
 Note.

To this I shall only add, what *Theo-*
doret calls it, a memorable story of an
 incomparable Woman: ‘For even the
Theod. l. 3. c. 17. ‘Women (saies he) despised this Man’s
 ‘madness, being armed with Divine
 ‘Zeal. Her Name was *Publia*, and she
 ‘was Mother to *John*, who was often
 ‘chosen to be Bishop of *Antioch*, but
 ‘as often refused it. This Woman be-
 ‘ing a Widow, had a Quire of Vir-
 ‘gins, which promised Virginity for
 ‘Life, and was alway singing Praises
 ‘to God her Creator and Redeemer.
 ‘And when the Emperor passed by,
 ‘they sung their Psalms the louder,
 ‘accounting him fit to be despised and
 ‘derided. Now they sung, for the
 ‘most

' most part those Psalms, which expose
 ' the weakness of Idols; and they said
 ' with *David*, *The Idols of the Heathen*
 ' *are Silver and Gold, the work of Mens*
 ' *Hands*. And after they had shewed
 ' the senselessnes of them, they added;
 ' *Let them that make them, be like unto*
 ' *them, and all those that put their trust*
 ' *in them!* He hearing these things, was
 ' grievously vexed, and commanded
 ' them to be silent at such time as he
 ' passed by. But she, little regarding
 ' his Laws, put more courage into her
 ' Quire; and when he past by again,
 ' she bid them sing this Psalm, *Let God*
 ' *arise, and let his Enemies be scattered;*
 ' *Julian*, in great indignation, com-
 ' manded the Mistress of the Quire to
 ' be brought to him; and when he
 ' saw her venerable Age, he neither
 ' had any compassion for her Years,
 ' nor honoured her Vertue, but com-
 ' manded one of the Souldiers to strike
 ' her on the face, till he made it all
 ' bloody with his hands. She receiving
 ' this Disgrace, as the highest Honour,
 ' went back to her House; but she still
 ' shot him with her Spiritual Songs as
 ' she was wont.

Now here indeed is a Suffering Religion, because the old Woman does not beat the Souldier; but I cannot possibly find out any profound primitive Obedience in this passage. Where is the Reverence due to Majesty, or Eternity, as Emperors were then stiled, in counting him fit to be made a Laughing-stock? What dutifulness was their shewn, in refusing to comply with so reasonable a Command, as to forbear their Psalms only when he went by? But it was *Julian*, and they did not owe him so much service. They say, Rage turns every thing into weapons, and there seems to be some quantity of that Passion here, when their very Devotions are so plainly aimed and level'd at *Julian's* Head.

sently after he gives us an Account of
 those Crys which they sent up to God,
 'in some of them invoking him as a
 'Lord and Master; in others complain-
 'ing as to a kind Father; in others
 'again, as if they upbraided and expo-
 'stulated with him, as Men in trouble
 'use to do. O God, *why hast thou re-*
 '*jected us for ever? why is thy wrath*
 '*so hot against the Sheep of thy Pasture?*
 '*Lift up thy Hands against their Pride,*
 '*&c. We challenged the Sword, and*
 '*the Plagues of Ægypt; and we be-*
 '*sought him to judge his own Cause; and*
 '*we urged him, that he would at length*
 '*rise up against the Wicked. How long*
 '*shall the Ungodly, how long shall the*
 '*Ungodly boast? And withal, we used*
 'those sorrowful and more proper Ex-
 'pressions, *Thou hast made us a By-*
 '*word and Reproach unto our Neigh-*
 '*bours. We mentioned the Vine out of*
 '*Ægypt, destroyed by the wild Boar that*
 '*wicked One, who made Wickedness his*
 '*own, and was all over polluted with*
 '*the Mire of it.* Hitherto Gregory
 speaks in the plural Number, as if
 others had joyned in these Prayers
 with him: Nevertheless, because he
 says afterwards, *These were my former*
Thoughts

Thoughts and Crys to God, it is possible they were his own private Devotions. However, it is very evident, that their publick Devotions ran in the same strain.

In the forementioned Oration, at his Father's Funeral, you may remember that *Gregory* praises him for his contempt of *Julian*, of which we gave you an account before; and for contributing to his destruction. Concerning which, he has these following Words.

1 'And as for his Destruction, How Orat. 19.
P. 307, 308;
'can any one appear to have done
'more towards it than my Father?
'Either in publick striking the Villain
'with the joint Prayers & Supplications
'of all the People together, and not at
'all fearing the Times; or in private,
'drawing forth his nightly Squadron
'against him; I mean, his lying upon
'the Ground, where he wore out his
'old Flesh, and watered the Floor with
'his Tears, for almost a whole Year
'together.

In this place he does not specify what those publick Prayers were,

Their Prayers and Tears.

which they had for *Julian*, but he sufficiently describes them.

First, They were such as tended to his Destruction, and were a means of it.

2^{dly}, They darted these Prayers at him. It is exprest by a Word, which might more properly be employed to describe the throwing of that Javelin, which afterwards stuck in his Liver.

3^{dly}, The Nightly Squadron mentioned after, confirms us, that with these they fought him by day.

And 4^{thly}, they were such Prayers as exposed old *Gregory* to a great deal of danger; but he did not fear the Times a crumb.

If ever the Christians were in cold Blood, sure they were at Old *Gregory's* Funeral, for it was several Years after *Julian's* Death: And yet you see, that even then his opposition to *Julian* serves to embalm his Memory. It was thought to be so much for his honour, to help to pray *Julian* to Death, that a great part of the Congregation had been disappointed, if
no

no mention had been made of it; as appears plainly from the Preface to this Passage before cited. So that in that Age the best Prayers and Tears were those, which did best execution upon an Apostate Emperor, and contributed most to his destruction; which now follows to be spoken of in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

JULIAN's Death.

After *Julian* had Reigned about Nineteen Months, which the Christians thought very much too long, he met with an untimely Death, and they with the answer of their Prayers. For when he had been some time in *Persia*, his Army being suddenly attacked by the *Persians*, he made so much haste from place to place to relieve those Troops which were most hotly engaged, that he forgot his Armour; and while he thus exposed himself, he was struck with an Horseman's Spear, which pierced his Side, and stuck in the bottom of his Liver; of which Wound, about midnight, he died.

Amm. Marc.
l. 25. ad init.

And that the Christians might have this good News the sooner, as Historians tell us, it was conveyed to some of them by Miracle. 'A Christian School-master at *Antioch*, who was ask'd in
'derision,

Theod. l. 3 c. 18.

'derision, by *Libanius*, *Julian's* great
'Master; What the Carpenter's Son
'was doing; being filled with Divine
'Grace, foretold what would shortly
'come to pass. For, saies he, the Cre-
'ator of the World, whom you in
'derision have called the *Carpenter's*
'Son, is making a Coffin. And in a
'few days after came the news of that
'wicked Wretch's Death.

Which was likewise revealed in as
extraordinary a manner to St. *Julian*
Sabba: 'Who having understood the *Theod. l. 3. c. 19.*
'Threatnings of that Wicked One
'against the Christians, did more dili-
'gently offer up his Prayers to the God
'of the whole World. And on that day
'the Emperor was killed, this Person
'being at Prayers, knew of it, although
'he was more than twenty days Jour-
'neys off. For, they say, as he was
'supplicating the merciful and com-
'passionate Lord, on a sudden he
'stopp'd the current of his Tears, and
'was filled with Joy, which disco-
'vered it self in the chearfulness of
'his Countenance. They that con-
'versed with him, seeing this change
'in him, desired to know the occasion
'of it. And he told them, that the
'wild

'wild Boar, the Enemy of the Lord's
 'Vineyard hath suffered the punish-
 'ment of his Faults, and lay Dead,
 'having done designing. When they
 'heard these things, they all fell a
 'dancing, and offered up to God an
 'Hymn of Thanksgiving. And they
 'understood by those that brought
 'advice of his Death, that it was the
 'same Day, and the same Hour, in
 'which this Divine Old Man, both
 'knew the Wretch to be slain, and
 'spoke of it before-hand.

And thus the News, as fast as it ar-
 rived, was every where entertained
 with all the demonstrations of Joy and
Theod. ib. c. 22. Gladness. His old Friends, 'the *An-*
 'tiochians, as soon as they heard of his
 'Death, kept Feasts, and publick joy-
 'ful Meetings; and they not only had
 'Dances in their Churches and Chap-
 'pels of the Martyrs, but likewise in
 'their Theatre they proclaim'd the Vi-
 'ctory of the Cross, crying aloud
 'with one Voice, *God and his Christ*
 '*have gotten the Victory.* In a word,
 the whole Church sung Songs of
 Triumph, as St. *Jerome* tells us in his
 Comment upon the Third of *Habak-*
kuk.

Because

Because it was not known who
threw that Spear which killed him,
it gave occasion to variety of Reports.
'Some say he was kill'd by a *Persian*;
'but the more general and prevailing
'Report is, That he was kill'd by one
'of his own Souldiers; *as Socrates's*
'words are. But *Callistus*, who was
'then in *Julian's* Service, and has gi-
'ven us the History of that War in
'Heroick Verse, saies, it was a *Dæ-* *Socrat. l. 3.*
'*mon* that did it. Which it may be *cap. 21.*
'he feigned as a Poet, and it may be
'was the truth of the matter, for the
'Furies have punished very many. And
so *Theodore*t after him. 'Who it was *Theod. l. 3. c. 20.*
'that struck that just stroke, no body
'knows to this day. But whether it
'was Man or Angel that thrust the
'Weapon, it is plain that he who did
'it, was the Minister of the Divine
'appointment and direction.

But *Libanius* the Sophist, whom
Julian in his Letters to him, calls his
Dearest Brother, is resolv'd to find out
the man that kill'd his good Friend;
and thus he traces him. 'Does any *Sozom. l. 6. c. 1.*
'one desire to know the Man that
'kill'd him? I know not his Name;
'but that he was none of the Enemy,
'this

' this is a clear proof, that no body a-
 ' mong the *Persians* was rewarded for
 ' that Blow. Although the King of
 ' *Persia* made Proclamation of reward-
 ' ing him that kill'd him, yet no body
 ' was tempted by the Reward to brag
 ' that he did it. And we are beholden
 ' to our Enemies, that they would not
 ' assume the Glory of those things
 ' which they did not do, but have al-
 ' lowed us to seek for the Murtherer
 ' amongst our selves. Now his Life
 ' was not for their profit, who did not
 ' live according to his Laws, and had
 ' long plotted against him, and having
 ' then an opportunity, put it in exe-
 ' cution. And *Libanius* writing after
 ' this fashion, insinuates, that he who
 ' kill'd *Julian* was a Christian; which
 ' it may be (saies the Historian) was
 ' true. This is a strange Concession, but
 ' you will more wonder that he should
 ' justifie such a Traiterous Assassination,
 ' and yet he does in the following words;
 ' For it is not improbable, that some
 ' one of the Souldiers might take into
 ' consideration how the Heathens, and
 ' all Men to this day, do still praise
 ' those who long since have killed
 ' Tyrants, as men that were willing to
 ' die

Ib. c. 2.

' die for the Common Liberty, and de-
' fended in that manner their Country-
' men, Kinsmen, and Friends. And
' you can hardly blame him, who shews
' himself so couragious for God, and
' for that Religion which he approves.

ἡλὼν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ μέ-
λου.

And it is another wonder to me, that
this strange Doctrine should be dedi-
cated to *Theodosius* the younger, an
Emperor, who in less than fifty Years
after, sate upon the very same Throne
that *Julian* did.

Sozom. dedic.
Eccl. Hist.

And now we have brought *Julian*
to his Grave, it may reasonably be ex-
pected, that there the Christians should
let him rest in quiet, and let fall their
Quarrel when their Enemy was gone.
Which whether they did or no, shall
be shewn in the next Chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

How they used his Memory.

TO make amends for their dry Eyes at *Julian's* Funeral, the Christians spared neither pains nor cost to erect Pillars and Monuments to his Memory. *Gregory* gives us the Description of that stately one, which he reared for him, speaking to *Julian*. 'This Pillar we erect for you, which 'is higher and more conspicuous than 'Hercules's Pillars. For they are fixed 'in one place, and are only to be seen 'by those that come thither; but this 'being a moveable one, cannot chuse 'but be known every where, and by all 'Men, which I am sure will last to future Ages, branding thee and thy actions, and warning all others not to attempt any such Rebellion against *God*, 'lest doing the like things, they fare 'alike. And I think he has made an Example of him.

Invect. 2.
p. 134.

For

For let any one read the Inscription of this Monument, and he will bless himself to see what Titles of Honour are bestowed upon him. 'Thou Persecutor next to *Herod*, thou Traytor next to *Judas*, (only thou hast not testified thy Repentance, by hanging thy self, as he did) and Killer of Christ after *Pilate*, and next to the Jews, thou Hater of God. He calls him Murtherer, Enemy, and Avenger, &c. And all the Ecclesiastical Historians do the like.

Inveſt. 1. p. 76.

p. 94.

But I am weary of ripping up the reproachful and ignominious Titles, which the Christians Tongues being unfettered, as *Gregory's* Expression is, and the great facility of compounding *Greek* words, have lavishly bestowed upon him. And after all, they lodge him in Hell, and there they leave him. Saies St. *Chrysoſtome*; 'Where is the Emperor that threatned these things? He is lost and destroyed, and now he is in Hell undergoing endless punishment.

Inveſt. 2. p. 132.

Chryſoſt. Hom. de S. Hiero-martyre Babyla p. 723.

What Protestants ever treated their worst Persecutors at this rate? Who
ever

*In the Preface
to his Cata-
logue of Eccles.
Writers.*

ever called *Queen Mary, mad Bitch,*
as *St. Jerome* does *Julian, mad Dog?*
No, the Courtesie of *England* has been
shewn, even to that treacherous and
bloody Woman, who deserved as ill
of the Christian Religion, as ever *Julian*
did, which I hope to make very
plain by and by.

In the mean time it will be necessa-
ry to make some Reflections upon this
strange and unexpected Behaviour of
the Primitive Christians.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

*Reflections on the Behaviour of
these Christians.*

Julian's Persecution was but a flea-biting to what the Christians had formerly felt; it was but a short and weak assault of the Devil, as *Gregory* Invect. 1. p. 53. calls it; and for that reason, he very much bewails the Sin of all those that withered away, when there was no greater heat of Temptation. 'If Men fell away from Christianity, they were ridiculously overcome, (as St. *Chrysostom* expresses it;) and if they persevered, it was no such great matter to quit a Trade or a Profession for their Religion. Which was the Case of the discarded Schoolmasters, and Physicians, and Souldiers, and was the greatest severity of all *Julian's* Edicts. He was, if we will speak properly, rather a Tempter, than a Persecutor; 'for some he seduced Greg. Orat. 10. in Caesar. p. 167. 'with Money, others with Places of
F 'Trust,

Chrysost. Hom.
40. de SS. Juv.
& Max. mox
ab init.

Homil. 3. cont.
 Avaritiam.
 Biblioth. Pa-
 trum Colon.
 p. 704.

‘Trust, others with Promises, others
 ‘with Honours of all sorts, which he
 ‘exposed in all Mens sight, not like a
 ‘King, but in a very servile manner;
 ‘and others again he won by the
 ‘witchcraft of his words, and by his
 ‘own Example. He wrought upon
 Mens Covetousness and Ambition,
 more than upon their Fear; and that
 with so good success, that St. *Asterius*
 says, ‘It verifies the saying of *Paul*,
 ‘a Preacher of Truth, that *Covetous-*
 ‘*ness is Idolatry*. And as for what he
 designed against the Christians, it
 was far short of what other Empe-
 rors had executed. And yet how do
 the Christians treat this Emperor! One
 would take them to be the Apostates;
 one while reproaching him, ruffling
 with him, and vexing every Vein in
 his Royal Heart; another while saying
 all their Prayers backwards, and cal-
 ling down Vengeance upon his Head;
 after that, dancing and leaping for
 joy at his Death, and insulting over
 his Memory. But for the name of
 Christians; he had better have fallen
 amongst Barbarians. And yet he of-
 ten put them in mind of their Christi-
 anity too: He told them, when they
 com-

complain'd of any Oppression; 'It is Socrat. l. 3.
 ' your part, when you are ill used, to C. 14.
 ' bear it, for this is the commandment
 ' of your God; But they flurt at him
 ' for this, and say, He makes a ve- Greg. Invect. 1.
 ' ry wise Speech, and this he remem- p. 94, 95.
 ' bers since he was Reader; and he
 ' should have read on, and not skip'd
 ' over that Passage, The wicked Man
 ' shall be miserably destroyed, such an
 ' one as denies God, and which is more,
 ' vexes those that persevere in the
 ' Confession of him. They ask How
 ' or where that Right is that they
 ' should suffer and bear it? And that
 ' the Heathens should not spare those,
 ' who, when time was, spared them,
 They call him by the bloodiest Names
 of the Devil, for taking advantage of
 the Christian Doctrine in this particu-
 lar, which says, 'We must not avenge
 ' our selves, nor go to Law, &c. nor
 ' render Evil for Evil, but pray for,
 ' and wish well to those who injure
 ' and persecute us. And in conclu-
 sion, they come with their Distincti-
 ons, and tell him, 'That he must not
 ' think to drive all men up to the top
 ' and pinnacle of Vertue. For there
 ' are several Commands in the Gospel
 F 2 (which

‘ (which are no more than Counsels of
 ‘ Perfection,) which bring Honour and
 ‘ Reward to them that keep them, but to
 ‘ those that do not keep them no man-
 ‘ ner of Danger at all. Is not this the
 right course to interpret and gloss away
 all their Duty? In a word, they seem to
 have broke all the Measures by which
 all the Ancient and Suffering Christians
 have gone in all former Persecutions.

The plain truth of the matter is this:
 Their Case differed very much, and
 they were in quite other Circumstances
 than the First Christians were. When *Julian*
 came to the Crown, he found them in full
 and quiet possession of their Religion, which
 they had enjoyed without interruption for
 almost Fifty years, and which was so inesti-
 mable a Blessing, that they had plainly
 undervalued it, if they had not done their
 utmost to keep it. And then to have this
 Treasure wrested out of their hands, by one
 that had been bred up in the Bosom of the
 Church, who profess’d himself a Christian, and
 never pull’d off his Masque, till it was too
 late for them to help themselves; this was
 enough to raise, not only all their Zeal, but
 all their Indignation too.

too. Whereas the poor Primitive Christians of all, were born to Persecution, they neither knew better, nor expected it; they professed their new Religion, as in some places they propounded new Laws, with an Halter about their Necks. The Laws of the Empire were always in force against them, though not always put in execution; and the edge of the Ax stood always towards them, though it were not at all times stained with their Blood.

In a word, they perpetually lay at the Mercy of their Enemies: their Religion, at the best, was in the World but upon sufferance, as *Abraham* was in the Land of *Canaan*; where he had *Act. 7. 5.* none Inheritance, no not so much as to set his foot on. But as his afflicted Posterity were afterwards Lords of that Country, so after another Ægyptian Bondage Christianity was advanced to be the Established Religion of the Empire. It is worth the while to read *Eusebius*, only to see in what a transport of joy the Christians were upon that happy Revolution. The Christian World, at that time, was the very Picture of Heaven. Such joy there

Inveſt. I. p. 64.

will be again amongſt good Men, when they have croſs'd the tempeſtuous Sea of this World, and are ſafely landed in the Regions of Light and Immortality. For what *Gregory* ſays of *Conſtantius*, was true of many others; 'Never any Man in this World ſet his 'Heart ſo much upon any other thing, 'as he did to ſee the Chriſtians flouriſh, and to have all the advantages 'of Glory and Power. And neither 'conquered Nations, nor a well-govern'd Empire, nor great Treasures, 'nor exceſs of Glory, nor being King 'of Kings, nor being ſtil'd ſo, nor all 'other things, which make up other 'Mens Notion of happineſs, did delight him ſo much, as to have the honour of bringing Honour to the 'Chriſtians; and of leaving them eſtabliſh'd for ever in the poſſeſſion of 'Power and Authority. And Men that valued the eſtabliſhment of their Religion at this Rate, would not eaſily part with it. Now for *Julian*, who, by his Baptiſm firſt, and by entring into Orders after, and by his going to Church after that, ſufficiently engaged himſelf to maintain Chriſtianity, to endeavour on the other hand to diſpoſſeſs

possess them of their Free-hold was an insupportable injury.

Is there no difference, I appeal to all the World, between being turn'd out as Sheep among Wolves, which was the deplorable, but unavoidable case of the first Christians, and being worried by one of their own Flock? Has a Man no more Right nor Priviledg after he is Naturalized, than when he was a Stranger, or Alien, or accounted an Enemy? Do not the same Laws, which forbid Men to invade other Mens Rights, enable them notwithstanding to maintain and defend their own? These are the plain and palpable differences between the State of the first Christians, and of those under *Julian*.

To sum up all in one word; The first Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas these under *Julian* were persecuted contrary to Law. For it is manifest that *Julian* oppress'd them in a very illegal way. He did not fairly enact Sanguinary Laws against them for their Religion, but he put them to Death upon Shams, and pretended

F 4 Crimes

Theod. l. 3.
c. 14.

Crimes of Treason and Sacrilege. He dressed up an Accusation of Treason against *Juventinus* and *Maximus*; and though they died for their generous Zeal, and hearty Concernment for Christianity, he gave out, and commanded it to be noised abroad, That they were punished for Treasonable words.

Hom. de SS. Ju-
vent. & Max.
mox ab init.

The other sham of Sacrilege St. *Chrysostom* acquaints us with in these words: 'If any one, in former Times, 'when Godly Kings had the Govern- 'ment, had either broken their Altars, 'thrown down their Temples, taken 'away their Oblations, or done any 'such thing, he was presently hurried 'away to the Tribunal; and some- 'times the Innocent were executed, 'when they were only accused. The truth of which *Julian* himself confirms in his own Writings, when he says, 'Let no Man distrust the Gods, when 'he hears how some have done despite 'to Images and Temples. For have 'not many slain good Men, such as 'Socrates and Dion, and the great 'Empedotimus, which I am well assu- 'red were much more the Care of the 'Gods than their Images are? But 'they

Fragment. *Ju-
lian*. p. 540.

'they have afterward punished their
'Murderers; and this likewise has
'manifestly happened in our time, to
'those that were Robbers of Temples.
And besides all this, by his Connivance
and Encouragement, he let loose the
Rage and Fury of the Heathens upon
them, as I shewed before. And there-
fore *Gregory*, all over his *Invectives*,
charges him with Tyranny, and often
calls him Tyrant. So that the same
Men, who would quietly have submit-
ted to the Laws, under a *Nero* or *Dio-*
clesian, do nevertheless pursue *Julian*, as
if he were a midnight Thief, or a High-
way Robber.

As for us, who, blessed
be God, have our Religi-
on settled by such Laws
as cannot be altered without
our own consent, we can-
not better express our thank-
fulness for so great a Blef-
sing, than by living up to
this Holy Religion, and resolving to
keep it. For surely it is not of the
Essence of the Gospel, to be a Suffer-
ing Religion, that is an evil Circum-
stance which attends it only in bad
Times;

Bracton l. 1. c. 2. Leges
cum fuerint approbatæ
consensu utentium & Sa-
cramento Regum confir-
matæ mutari non possunt
nec destrui sine communi
consensu & consilio eorum
omnium quorum consilio
& consensu fuerunt pro-
mulgatæ.

Times; it is a reigning Religion amongst us, and I hope will never be otherwise while the World stands. And therefore I much wonder at those Men, who trouble the Nation at this time of the day, with the unreasonable prescriptions of Prayers and Tears, and the Passive Obedience of the *Thebæan* Legion, and such-like last Remedies, which are proper, only at such a Time, as the Laws of our Country are armed against our Religion. What have we to do with the *Thebæan* Legion? Blessed be God, who has made the difference; but I ask again, What have we to do with their Example? Are we to Sacrifice, or go to Mass to Morrow, or else to have our Throats cut? Are we under the Sentence of Death, according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not presently renounce our Religion? Poor Men they were! and though they died as glorious Martyrs, in respect of their Religion, yet they died as Criminals and Malefactors, in the Eye of the Law. I hope many good Protestants would make a shift to die for their Religion, though it may be not with the gallantry that these Souldiers

diers did, if they were in the like sad Circumstances, and had the Laws against them; but till then, they throw away their Lives, and are certainly weary of them, if they practice any such Passive Obedience. And the truth of it is, we justly deserve to be so used, as the *Theban* Legion was, and moreover to be loaded with the Curses of all Posterity, if we suffer our selves to be brought into that condition. For that can never happen, but by our own treachery to our Religion, in parting with those good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to such as shall destroy it.

When a Man is condemned by God and his Countrey, in a due course of Law, it is time for him to die, and he ought willingly to submit to the Laws of the Land (for every Man enjoys the benefit and protection of them upon those terms; and *Job* lays down a great Rule of Equity, when he asks, Shall we receive Good Things at the Hand of God, and not likewise Evil?) But if a Man be illegally assaulted, in the way of Violence and Assassination, he may use all lawful Remedies to defend himself.

It

Invect. 1.
Chrysoſt. Hom.
πρὸς ἀνεξιγ-
νίας. Vol. 2.
p. 1015.

It is a current Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to spare our Persecutors, and not to suffer them to be guilty of Murder. Gregory gives that as a very good reason of *Marcus's* flight from *Arethusa*. And *St. Chrysoſtom* introduces *David*, speaking after this manner when he fled from *Saul*, and as the Scripture tells us, had *Goliath's* great Sword with him, and put himself into a posture of Defence; *It is better for me to be miserable, and to suffer more hardship, than that Saul should be condemned by God for the Murther of an Innocent Person.* And that he meant no more than only to prevent the effusion of Innocent Blood, appears by the several Opportunities he had to have cut off *Saul*, but the sense of his duty made him abhor the least thought of it. He only sought his own safety and preservation, which he could not abandon, without being accessary to *Saul's* Murdering of him. There is no question, but it is every Mans Duty to prevent the Murder of any Innocent Person, and especially of himself, by all the ways and means, which the Laws of God and of his Country do allow; and if he do not, he is a kind

kind of *felo de se*, and guilty of his own Murder. We are to suffer Persecution (ἐν ὧν ἐστὶν) if need be, as St. *Peter's* words are, and not else. Now ^{1 Epist. 1 chap. verse. 6.} I humbly conceive, being the Writ, *De Hæretico Comburendo* is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, that it will be a very needless thing to go to *Smithfield*, and there be burnt for an Heretick.

And so far it is fit to inform the Popish Crew (for we have no apprehensions of Persecution from any other Quarter) lest they should be mistaken in the Good Protestant Religion of our good Church, as *Coleman* calls it in his Declaration. No doubt they would bestow more good words upon us, if we would be all Passive Protestants; for then the fewer active Papists would serve to dispatch us. But most Men are satisfied, that Arch-bishop *Abbot's* Doctrine was much more the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, than Dr. *Sibthorp's*; and that Dr. *Manwaring* was Orthodox when he Recanted, but by no means when he Preached his *Pulpit Law*. For that Name the Great and Loyal Lord *Faulkland*, long before the War broke out,

out, was pleased to bestow upon such mischievous Flattery; which he then complained had almost ruined the Nation, and it can never be good for any thing else in any Age. And yet the Arbitrary Doctrin of those Times did not bring any great Terror along with it: it was then but a Rake, and served only to scrape up a little paltry passive Mony from the Subject, but now it is become a Murdering-piece, loaden with no Body knows how many Bullets. And that the Patrons of it may not complain that it is an *Exploded Doctrin*, as if Men only hooted at it, but could not answer it; I shall stay to speak a little more to it.

Pag. 13.

'Tis true, this Doctrin cannot discover its malignity under his Majesties Gracious Reign, which God prolong and prosper; Who has been pleased to give the Nation the Security of his Coronation Oath, which we know all Protestant Princes value and look upon as Sacred, and likewise of many Gracious Promises that He will govern according to Law. But in case we should be so sharply punished for our Sins, as to fall under a Popish Successor, then this Bloody Doctrin will have

have the opportunity to shew it self in its own Colours, and we may then see, and it may be, feel the sting of it.

For, *First*, I suppose these Men will allow a Popish Successor, when he is in possession, to be a *Lawful Magistrate*; because, according to them, it is not lawful, no not for the King and Parliament, to exclude him.

2dly, I suppose that this Lawful Magistrate will *persecute* Protestants; for by so doing, he do's God and the Church good Service: he merits Heaven; he cannot better testifie the truth and reality of his Conversion: Nay, if he do's not persecute Hereticks with Fire and Sword, he lies at the Pope's Mercy to have his Kingdom taken from him; and farther, he is in danger to be so served, as the two *Henries* of *France* were. However, because some Persons are so happy as to believe that he will not *persecute*! no, he will protect the Church of *England* as it is now established by Law, and be a mighty Defender of the Faith; I shall be contented with what every Body must grant, that he *may persecute*, that the thing is possible.

3dly, In

Of Passive Obedience.

3dly, In this case all Protestants cannot fly, they will not be all in a travelling case; and if they were, the Ports may be stopt, the Writ *Ne exeas Regnum* may be serv'd upon them; and besides, many may be persuaded that they ought not to fly, and leave their Native Country naked and defenceless, and expose it to a Conquest; they may likewise believe it a thing of very ill Consequence, *perdere Patriam*, which no Man in *England* is bound to do.

Pag. 8.

4thly, Now we are taught in this Case, That if Men do not over-run their Country, there is nothing but Death or Damnation at home; or, as it is in their own words. 'Neither doth
'the Gospel prescribe any Remedy but
'flight, against the Persecutions of the
'lawful Magistrate, allowing of no
'other means, when we cannot escape,
'betwixt denying, and dying for the
'Faith.

What the Gospel prescribes is one thing, what it allows is another; there are ten thousand things allowed by the Gospel, not one of which is prescribed by it, Indictments, Appeals, suing for Tythes; in a word,
all

all humane Constitutions, which are not morally Evil. But it seems the Gospel doth not so much as allow any mean, when we cannot escape by flight, betwixt denying and dying for the Faith. As for denying the Faith that is downright Destruction, both of Body and Soul, and therefore is not to be thought of, as being the far greater Extremity of the two. And so welcom Death! But by what Law must we die? Not by the Law of God, surely, for being of that Religion which he approves, and would have all the World to embrace and to hold fast to the End. Nor by the Laws of our Country, where Protestancy is so far from being Criminal, that it is Death to desert it, and to turn *Papist*. By what Law then? By none that I know of, but Parasites, Sycophants, and Murderers may. For it is plain, that every Protestant who is persecuted to Death in these Circumstances, is barbarously murdered. If they can tell us therefore who it is, in that Case, that shall have Authority to commit open, bare-faced, and downright Murders, they will then direct us where to pay our passive

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Obe-

Obedience. It would be the horridest slander in the World, to say, that any such Power is lodged in the Prerogative, as to destroy Men contrary to Law. The Prerogative is no such boundless, bottomless Pit of Arbitrary Power and Self-will, but it is limited, stated, and certain, and as well known as other parts of the Law; and it is fit it should be so, that the Subject may not offend against it. It is the Glory of the Crown, and is intended to be for the Benefit, Quiet, and Safety of the People, to save innocent Lives, and not to destroy them. There is no Authority upon Earth above the Law, much less against it; and that this Doctor might have seen, if he had pleased to have read on in that very Chapter of *Bracton*, which he makes use of without citing the Place. What he says concerning the King, is very true, and readily acknowledged by every English Man; *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.* *Bracton* does not barely assert it, but he shews the reason of it in these words; *Parrem autem non habet in Regno suo, quia sic amitteret Præceptum, cum par in parrem non habet Imperium. Item nec multo fortius*

P. 29,
Bracton. l. ii.

c. 8.

fortius superiorem, nec potentio- rem, ha- bere debet. So in another place, *Rex* Lib. 2. c. 22.
parem non habet, nec vicinum, nec supe- riorem. He likewise often uses these Lib. 1. c. 2.
 Expressions, *Rex est Vicarius Dei. Dei* Lib. 2. c. 24.
Minister & Vicarius. But Bracton is so far from setting Gods Vicegerent above the Law, that among other Reasons, he enforces his being under the Law, from that very Title, which is the greatest upon Earth, in the fore- mentioned Chap. 8. He has these Lib. 1. c. 81
 words; *Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem. Attribuat ergo Rex legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet dominationem & potestatem. Non est enim Rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex. Et quod sub Lege esse debeat, cum sit Dei Vicarius, evidenter apparet ad exemplum Jesu Christi, cujus vices gerit* Lib. 3. c. 94
in terra, &c. qui noluit uti viribus, sed ratione & judicio. Nay, he will not allow him to be God's Vicegerent any longer than he acts according to Law; speaking of the King, he says, *Pote- stas sua juris est, non injuriæ. Exer- cere igitur debet Rex Potestatem juris, sicut Dei Vicarius & Minister in terra, quia illa Potestas solius Dei est, Potestas*

Of Passive Obedience.

autem injuriæ Diaboli, & non Dei, & cujus horum opera fecerit Rex, ejus Minister erit, cujus opera fecerit. Igitur dum facit Justitiam, Vicarius est Regis æterni: Minister autem Diaboli, dum declinet ad Injuriam. So that this popish Successor we are speaking of, can have no Authority to exercise any illegal Cruelty upon Protestants, and how far an Inauthoritative Act, which carries no Obligation at all, can oblige Men to Obedience, I desire the Doctor to resolve. For it is an undeniable Maxim, *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression.* I freely and readily acknowledge, that according to the known Laws of *England*, this Popish Prince, when he is lawfully possesst of the Crown, will be inviolable, and unaccountable as to his own Person, and ought by no means to have any Violence offered to him; for *who can do that*, as *David* says, of an Anointed King, and be guiltless? So that if a Man be reduced to those Straits, as either to lose his Life, or contract Guilt by keeping it, he ought to die, and his time is come. But this must needs be a rare *Case*, which can seldom happen; for bad Princes are hardly
 ever

ever known to stoop so low, as to be the Executioners of their own Cruelty, they generally reserve themselves for a better Office. And how far Men may endeavour notwithstanding to save themselves, without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyalty which they ought to bear of Life and Limb, and terrene Honour, if they have a Mind to know, they may ask advice.

But though we are out of our Pain, as to this first difficulty, yet still there is nothing but Despair left behind; for *him that escapeth the Sword of Hazeael, shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the Sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay.* For we are told that the Gospel by its own Confession, 'Is a
' Suffering Doctrine, and so far from
' being prejudicial to *Cæsar's* Authority, that it makes him the Minister
' of God, and commands all its Professors to give him, and all that are put
' in Authority under him, their Dues,
' and rather die, than resist them by
' force. At this rate under a Popish Successor, the Lives of all Protestants shall lye at the Mercy of every Justice of Peace, Constable, or Tything-man,

who shall have Catholick Zeal enough to destroy them. Every Commission-Officer and Janizary, shall kill and slay without resistance. I never knew this before, that our Throats were the Dues and Perquisites of their places, and that another Man is bound to stand still and suffer himself to be Murthered, while they only give him a cast of their Office. We readily acknowledge that no Inferior Magistrate is to be resisted in the Exercise of his Office, so far as he is warranted by Law; but illegal Force may be repelled by Force, if you will believe *Brasson*, who has these words; *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter resistendum*. Who likewise tells us, *Armorum quædam sunt tuitionis*; which he after calls, *Arma pacis & justitiæ*, in the hands of private Men for their own Defence; and adds, *Quod quis ob tutelam sui corporis fecerit, vel sui juris justè fecisse videtur*. This is in the case of violent Disseisin; and I hope a Mans Life is his most valuable Free-hold, of which if he be disseised, he shall hardly be restored by any legal Remedy afterward.

Brasson, l. 4.
c. 4.

All the World knows that it is a misfortune for a man, in his own lawful Defence, to kill another, but it is neither Murder nor Felony; whereas it is Murder even in a Magistrate to kill any Man, if it be not done in due Course of Law. And through the help of God, though we cannot hinder the *Papists* from being Idolaters, we will endeavour to keep them from being Murderers, they shall not have that to answer for too.

Is the Doctor serious, and in earnest, when he teaches and preaches up Passive Obedience for Evangelical in this Case? Would he really have Men prostitute their Lives to Malice and Violence, when all the Laws of God, and of the Kingdom, protect them? Surely this is too light for the Pulpit, and is just such another piece of Drollery, as that which was dedicated to *Oliver Cromwel*, in the Book called, *Killing no Murder*. Where the ingenious Author offers *Oliver* many convincing and satisfying Reasons why he should kill himself, and very fairly gives him his choice, of hanging, drowning, or pistoling himself, shews him the absolute necessity of it,

Orat. 10. p. 166

the Honour he would gain by it ; and in a word uses such Arguments as might have prevailed upon any Body but an hardened Rebel. Bating that Dedication, I never met with any thing like this passive Doctrine, for wheedling a Man out of his Life. *Gregory* says, ' That *Julian* stole a Persecution upon the Christians, under a ' shew of gentleness, for he always ' disclaimed his being a Persecutor. And we, for ought I know, may be exposed to the bloodiest Persecution that ever was, under the meek pretences of Passive Obedience. For as a worthy Person hath lately observed ; *One single Arm, unresisted, may go a great way in Massacring a Nation.* But how many irresistible arms will there be lifted up against us under a *Popish* Successor, when every petty *Popish* Officer, according to this Doctrine, shall be an absolute Emperour, and have the power of Life and Death ? It is a Doctrine fit to turn a Nation into a Shambles, and enough to tempt and invite Tyranny and Cruelty into the World. For let a Prince be either a *Papist*, or an *Atheist*, and his Subjects well fettered and manacled with this

this slavish Principle; and then what hinders, but the one of them may destroy Millions for their Estates and Heresy together, and the other as many, to see what ugly Faces and Grimaees they will make. The Lives of the best Men in the World shall be exposed to the fiery and ambitious Zeal of a *Papist*, or the extravagant and unaccountable humours of a Wretch; and hang at their Girdle, as Souls do at the Popes.

If the Doctor looks upon these as excepted Cases, why did he not except them; why did he not particularly except the case of a *Papish* Successor, the Mischiefs of which, it has been the care of several Parliaments to prevent, and of which we have such a dismal Prospect, that it makes every honest Man's Heart to ake. But I am afraid this Doctrine is calculated and fitted on purpose for the use of a *Papish* Successor, and to make us an easier Prey to the Bloody *Papists*. For why else is there all that Wrath against every little Pamphlet which opposes that Interest?

How comes the *History of the Succession* to be an Impious and Treasonable

ble Book, and the *Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil* another? Why the first is an Impious and Treasonable Book, because it shews how the Succession has been alterable in all Ages. And this is so far from being an Impious or Treasonable Assertion, that it was impious High Treason, in *Queen Elizabeths* Time, to say the contrary; and is still Impiety, and forfeiture of Goods and Cattel at this day. Which is far from making the Monarchy Elective, as the *Doctor* might easily have understood, if he had read the *Antient Historians of England*, instead of *Dissenters Sayings*. He would likewise have found it possible to write an History of the Succession, without borrowing from *Doleman*, and impossible to write it, without having a great many passages, which *Doleman* has got into his Book.

For that is the true meaning of sitting, till all Grievances are redressed, and Petitions answered.

And the other is an impious and Treasonable Book, for saying, *That Parliaments should Sit till they have done that for which they are called, and Sit, and were originally intended*. But these Men are not for a Popish Successor, and so they and their Books, and whatever they have said, is to be blasted

blasted with the Names of Impious and Treasonable. He talks as if he were already arrived at that age, in which these Books will be sure to be called Treason, and the Authors used accordingly, unless they make haste and die out of the way, as my Lord *Hollis* has done, who is another of his Impious and Treasonable Authors.

However, let the Design of preaching up Passive Obedience, and the Example of the *Thebæan* Legion, at this Time especially, be what it will; if the *Papists* taking us to be all Passive, and a fine glib, and easie Morfel, shall try to swallow up innocent men *quick*, it is my hearty desire that they may find themselves choak'd. For where is it said in the Word of the Lord, which these Men cannot go beyond, that the World was made only for *Banditi*, or that we are to yield up our selves to Cut-throats and Assassins, which the *Papists* have ever been to poor *Protestants*; and how many hundred thousands they have massacred, I know not; but this I know, that they never did, nor ever will massacre more or less than just as many as they can.

To

Of Passive Obedience.

To leave a matter of this importance as clear as may be, in such an occasional and accidental Discourse, I shall reduce the strength and force of what hath been said into these following Propositions.

1. Christianity destroys no Man's Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.

2. All Men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.

3. When the Laws of God, and of our Country, interfere ; and it is made Death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ's sake. This is the only Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely when the Laws are against a Man. And this was the Case of the first Christians.

4. That

4. That the killing of a Man contrary to Law, is Murder.
5. That every Man is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows, and ought not to submit to be Murthered, if he can help it.

And now I shall desire those Men, who of late have thundred in all publick Places with the *Thebæan* Legion, to keep that compleat and admirable Example, (for which, thanks be to God, we have no occasion) till they have gotten another *Maximian*, and till that *Maximian* has gotten Authority to cut such an unconscionable number of Throats, as 6666 at one time.

I have many more Exceptions against their artillery of Prayers and Tears, than I can now stay to insist upon.

First, There are only Tears mentioned, where they quote Prayers too. Greg. Inveſt. 1. p. 57. Eten.

2dly. The

2dly. The passage has nothing at all of that sense which they put upon it, speaking of the grievous things *Julian* designed against the Christians; but says *Gregory*; he was hindred by the Goodness of God, and the Tears of Christians, which were shed in great plenty by many, who had this only Remedy against the Persecutor. They had no other way to help themselves; What then? Does not *Gregory* complain in another place, that they were strip'd of all humane Aid; they had no other Wall nor Weapon, nor Defence left them, but their hope in God? For besides, that *Julian* had gotten all the Strength of the Empire into his hands, there seems to have been a general Revolt from Christianity, almost like that in Queen *Maries* Time; which makes *St. Asterius* say, *Quantus ab Ecclesia ad altaria factus est concursus? Quam multi per honorum escam & illecebras una cum ipso transgressionis hamum devorarunt?* What then would they have a few defenceless Christians do, when they had lost all their Strength, and so many of their numbers? Have they never heard

Invect. 2.^o
p. 100 *Eten.*

Homil. contra
Avaritiam.

heard a West Country Man say,
~~Chud~~ eat ~~Cheese~~ an ~~Chad~~ it.

3dly. It is very odd they should quote this scrap out of *Gregory's Invektives*. Believe me, they must look out very sharp, who could find out such a *Daisy* as this in a whole Field of *Nettles*. For never were two such Thunderbolts in this World, sent after a Persecutor, as those two Speeches are.

4thly. Whether they did not make use of some few other Ingredients, besides Tears and Prayers too, in their Composition against a Persecutor; I refer my self to the Matter of Fact related in the former part of this Book.

And lastly, I do earnestly desire them to take heed how they recommend *Gregory's* Prayers and Tears to the VWorld; for I declare, they are no better than Treason by our Law: They were such as did imagine and compass *Julian's* Death. If they would have these Prayers and Tears believed to be in favour of *Julian*, they deceive the VWorld; and if they recommend them, such as they are,

to People's use, I do again as a Friend, give them fair warning.

The *Protestants* in *Queen Mary's Days*, found their short disjunctive Prayer made High Treason, *ex post Facto*, though they Prayed in the first place, *That God would turn her Heart from Idolatry; and in case that were not done, then to take her out of the way.* Whereas I do not find that there is one single Wish among the Ancients for *Julian's Conversion*, but all for his downright Destruction.

The preamble of that Act in *Queen Mary's Time*, has some remarkable passages in it, which for the Readers ease, I shall here set down, and so conclude this whole Matter.

Philip and Mary.

Ann. 1. & 2.
Philip & Mary
cap. 9.

As much as now of late divers naughty, seditious, malicious, and heretical Persons, not having the fear of God before their Eyes, but in a devilish sort, contrary to the duty of their Allegiance, have congregated themselves together in Conventicles in

in divers and sundry prophane
Places within this City of London,
esteeming themselves to be in the
true Faith, where indeed they are
in Errors and Heresies, and out of
the true Trade of Christ's Catho-
lick Religion; and in the same
Places, at severall times, using
their phantastical and schismatical
Services lately taken away
and abolished by Authority of Par-
liament, have of their most mali-
cious and cankered Stomachs;
prayed against the Queen's Maje-
sty, That God would turn her Heart
from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else
to shorten her days, or take her quick-
ly out of the way. Which Prayer
was never heard or read to have
been used by any good Christian
Man against any Prince, tho he
were a Pagan and an Infidel, and
much less against any Christian
Prince, and especially so virtuous
a Princess as our Soberaign La-
dy that now is, is known to be,
whose Faith is, and always hath
been, most True and Catholick,
and Consonant, and agreeing
with Christ's Catholick Church
H through

throughout the World dispersed.

Be it enacted, That every such Person and Persons, which since the beginning of this Parliament, have prayed, required, or desired, as aforesaid, shall be adjudged High Traytors, &c. as also their Procurors and Abettors therein.

I shall only observe from hence, that these blind Papists were as much out, in thinking these Prayers unprecedented, and of the first Impression, as they afterwards found they were in Queen Marys Reckoning. And from the rest, the Reader may please to make his own Observations.

A
COMPARISON
OF
Popery and Paganism.

The Introduction.

WELL, what is all this to us? may some Men say. Here is a great deal of adoe about a Pagan Successor: but Papists are Christians, and a true Church of Christ, only corrupt. O that Bishop *Ridley* were alive to hear them! if it be lawful to wish a good Man out of Heaven, to come and do good upon a degenerate Age: He would tell them what Christians the Papists are. 'Wolves, Thieves, Church-robbers, Enemies of Christ, the Brood of Antichrist; such Christians with him they are. And it is a Church; 'The Babylonical Beast and Whore, a devillish Drab, a stinking Strumpet, spiritually *Egypt* and *Sodom*,

*In Fox. Vol. 3.
p. 515. and all
over the Bi-
shop's Writ-
tings.*

H 2

the

Dedicat. Serm.
Jan. 30.

‘ the Seat of Satan ; such a Church it is. And these he tells the Lords of Parliament are not angry and railing Expressions, of a Man *desperate and in anguish*, but the words of a dying Man, and the very truth of the matter. And therefore who can doubt, but revolting from the Protestant, which as Dr. *Hicks* tells us, is *but another Name for the Primitive Christian Religion* : and herding with these Enemies of Christianity, does entitle a Man to the Name of an Apostate, as well as did *Julian* ? That brave Bishop and Martyr we spoke of, was clearly of that mind, as you may see by this passage in his Letter to Mr. *West*, sometime his Chaplain ; which I wish every Body would lay to heart. ‘ I like very well your plain ‘ speaking, wherein you say that I must ‘ agree or die. I say unto you, in the ‘ word of the Lord, That if you do not ‘ confess and maintain, to your Power ‘ and Knowledg, that which is grounded ‘ upon God’s word ; but will, either for ‘ fear of gain of the World, shrink and ‘ play the *Apostata*, indeed you shall die ‘ the Death ; you know what I mean. And his Apostacy agreed so ill with him, that this Martyr, who lay under the Sentence of Death, outlived him.

But

But we may very well let him, and all the other Glorious Martyrs, rest in peace; for we have store of living Authorities. The whole Clergy of *England*, who have subscribed with Hand and Heart, to the Homilies, *as containing a godly, wholesom, and necessary Doctrine for these times*; and by Name, to those against the Peril of Idolatry, have consequently declared it as their Judgment, which I hope they are still ready to maintain; **That the Church of Rome, as it is presently, and hath been for the space of 900 Years and odd, is so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more.** That it is an Idolatrous Church, not only an Harlot, (as the Scripture calls her) but also a foul, filthy, old, withered Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the same Idolatry and worse, than was among Ethnicks and Gentiles: and abundantly more to the same purpose, which I shall hereafter have occasion to quote. And to name no more, we have the honourable Testimony of my Lord Chief Justice Pemberton, That Popery is a *Religion ten times worse than all the Heathenish Superstitions.* Which is so great a Truth, and

35 Article of the Church of England.

2d part Hom. for Whitsun. p. 213.

Peril of Idolatry, p. 69.

P. 17. & p. 5

Plunket's Tryal, p. 100.

A Comparison

so seasonable, and coming from so great a Man, that it deserves to be written in Letters of Gold.

And if Popery be ten times worse than all the Heathenish Superstitions; then I am sure we do no worse than the Primitive Christians, if we have ten times a greater aversion for a Popish Successor, than they had for their *Julian*. And yet if it be but equal, I think it will serve the turn; and therefore it will be sufficient to prove Popery as bad as Paganism; tho if in so doing I prove it much worse, I cannot help that.

It would be endless to run through all the Particulars of both these Religions, and to compare them together. I shall chuse therefore to insist upon those things wherein they mainly agree, and wherein they are remov'd at the greatest distance from Christianity: and they are *Polytheism*, *Idolatry*, and *Cruelty*, which I shall treat of in order.

CHAP. X.

Their Polytheism.

WHenever Paganism is named, the most obvious thing in it, and

and that which comes first to our Thoughts, is the multitude of Gods which they worshipped. And that the Papists have herein equalled and outdone the old Pagans,

I shall first shew, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

And secondly, I shall demonstrate the truth of it.

First, That the Papists are gross *Polytheists*, and worship a vast number of False Gods, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*: And he that doubts of this, never read the *Homilies*: which I shall take this occasion to recommend to every bodies reading, as one of the best Books that I know in the World next the Bible, and in the mean time shall set down several passages at large, which plainly shew what is the Doctrine of the Church in this point. In the third part of the Sermon against *Peril of Idolatry*, you have these words:

And for that Idolatry standeth chiefly in the mind, it shall in this part first be proved, that our Image-maintainers have had, and have the same Opinions and Judgments of
H 4 Saints,

Hom. Tom. 2.

P. 46.

Saints, whose Images they have made & worshipped, as the Gentiles Idolaters had of their Gods. And afterwards shall be declared, that our Image-maintainers and worshippers, have used, & use the same outward Rites of honouring and worshipping their Images, as the Gentiles did use before their Idols; and that therefore they commit Idolatry, as well inwardly, and outwardly, as did the wicked Gentiles Idolaters.

And concerning the first part of the Idolaters Opinions of our Images-maintainers. What I pray you be such Saints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain Countries spoiling God of his due honour herein, but Dii tutelares of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, Vulcan to Lemnians, and to such other.

What be such Saints to whom the safeguard of certain Cities are appointed, but Dii Præsides with the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Mi.

Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such Saints to whom contrary to the use of the Primitive Church, Temples and Churches be builded, and Altars erected, but Dii Patroni, of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were in the Capitol Jupiter, in Paphus Temple Venus, in Ephesus Temple Diana, and such like. Alas, we seem in thus thinking and doing, to have learned our Religion, not out of God's Word, but out of the Pagan Poets, who say, Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relictis Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c. That is to say, all the Gods, by whose defence this Empire stood, are gone out of the Temples, and have forsaken their Altars. And where one Saint hath Images in divers places, the same Saint hath divers Names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, and such other: What is it but an imitation of the Gentiles Idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea,

phea, Diana Ephefia, &c. Venus Cypria,
 Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia. **Where-**
by is evidently meant that the
Saint for the Image sake, should
in those places, yea, in the Ima-
ges themselves, have a dwelling,
which is the ground of their Ido-
latry. For where no Images be,
they have no such means. Teren-
 tius Varro sheweth, that there were
 three hundred Jupiters in his Time,
 there were no fewer Veneres and
 Dianæ, we had no fewer Christo-
 phers, Ladies, and Mary Magdalenes,
 and other Saints, Oenomaus and
 Hesiodus shew, that in their Time
 there were thirty thousand Gods.
 I think we had no fewer Saints,
 to whom we gave the honour due to
 God. And they have not only spoiled
 the true living God of his due Ho-
 nour, in Temples, Cities, Coun-
 tries, and Lands, by such Devices,
 and Inventions as the Gentiles
 Idolaters have done before them.
 But the Sea and Waters have as
 well special Saints with them, as
 they had Gods with the Gentiles,
 Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and
 Pollux, Venus, and such other. In
 whose

whose places become Saint Christopher, Saint Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom Shipmen sing Ave Maris Stella. Neither hath the fire scaped the idolatrous inventions. For instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles Gods of the fire, our Men have placed St. Agatha, and make Letters on her day for to quench fire with. Every Artificer & Profession hath his special Saint, as a peculiar God. As for Example, Scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory; Painters, St. Luke; neither lack Soldiers their Mars, nor Lovers their Venus, amongst Christians.

All Diseases have their special Saints, as Gods, the curers of them. The Pox, St. Roche: the Falling-Evil, Saint Cornelis; the Tooth-ach, Saint Apollin, &c. Neither do Beasts and Cattel lack their Gods with us, for Saint Loy is the Horse-leach, and Saint Antony the Swineherd, &c. Where is Gods Providence and due Honour in the mean season? who saith, The Heavens be mine, and the Earth

Earth is mine, &c. But we have left him neither Heaven nor Earth, nor Water, nor Country, nor City, Peace nor War, to rule and govern, neither Men, nor Beasts, nor their Diseases to cure; that a Godly man might justly for zealous indignation cry out, O Heaven, O Earth, and Seas, what madness and wickedness against God are men fallen into? What dishonour do the Creatures to their Creator and Maker: and if we remember God sometime, yet because we doubt of his Ability or Will to help, we joyn to him another Helper, as if he were a noun Adjective, using these sayings; such as Learn, God and Saint Nicholas be my speed: such as Heese, God help and Saint John: to the Horse, God and St. Loy save thee. Thus are we become like Horses and Mules, which have no understanding. For is there not one God only, who by his Power and Wisdom made all things, and by his Providence governeth the same? and by his goodness maintaineth and saveth them?

them? be not all things of him, by him, and through him? why dost thou turn from the Creator to the Creatures? this is the manner of the Gentiles Idolaters; but thou art a Christian, and therefore by Christ alone has access to God the Father, and help of him only. These things are not written to any reproach of the Saints themselves, who were the true Servants of God, and did give all honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed souls with God: but against our foolishness and wickedness making of the true Servants of God, false Gods, by attributing to them the Power and Honour which is Gods, and due to him only.

And after more to the same purpose, P. 48. there are these words.

If answer be made, That they make Saints but Intercessors to God and means for such things as they would obtain of God: that is, even after the Gentiles idolatrous usage, to make them of Saints, Gods, called *Dii Medioximi* to be mean Intercessors and Helpers to God, &c.

There

There cannot be a fuller Charge of *Polytheifm* than this is, which is here drawn up againſt the Papiſts, for making Gods of the Saints; nay, for making as very Devils of them, as ever any of the Heathen Gods were. From which they cannot clear themſelves, with their *lewd diſtinction*, as the *Homily* calls it, of *Latria & Dulia*, for it is evident that the Saints of God cannot abide, that as much as any outward worſhipping be done or exhibited to them.

Ibid 50.

A little after,
p. 50.

And to attribute ſuch deſire of divine honour to Saints, is to blot them with a moſt odious and devilish ignominy and villany, and indeed of Saints, to make them Satans and very Devils, whoſe property is to challenge to themſelves the honour which is due to God only.

P. 54.

P. 53.

So far the Papiſts are even with the Gentiles Idolaters, and as deep in *Polytheifm* as they; But in many points they have far exceeded them in all wickedneſs, fooliſhneſs, & madneſs. Particularly in this they paſs the folly and wickedneſs of the Gentiles, that they honour and wor-
ſhip

Ship the Reliques and Bones of our Saints, which prove that they be mortal men and dead, and therefore no Gods to be worshipped, which the Gentiles would never confess of their Gods for very shame. And after a great many ridiculous practices of theirs, in reference to these Reliques, are reckoned up, the *Homily* concludes that they are, not only more wicked than the Gentiles Idolaters, but also no wiser than Asses, Horses, and Mules, which have no understanding.

I have been the more copious in these Citations, to shew that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of *England*, to which all Orders of the Clergy have all along subscribed; and is not one Doctor's Opinion, or the conceit of any private man. But because the Judgment of our Heretical Church signifies nothing to Papists; who will likewise be sure to treat us as such when time serves, tho now they have the treacherous impudence to pretend a mighty Zeal for us, when at the same time we are satisfied they are making their approaches to our
Lives :

Lives : I have another sort of proof for them, made up out of their own Oracles and Infallibility, with the help of a little common sense.

Socrates taxes Libanius for making Porphyry a God, only because he once used these words ; ' Let the Tyrian be merciful to me for preferring the Emperor Julian's Works before his. What would he have said , if he had known any thing of the Popish Devotions, where they invoke their Saints every day, and beg a thousand times more at their hands than this comes to ? And it is from that practice I mean to demonstrate their gross Polytheism.

First, Their bare Invocation of the Saints makes them Gods ; because thereby they bestow Divine Attributes upon them.

Secondly, The matter of their Prayers bestows several others.

First, The bare Invocation of their Saints, and praying to them, is making them Gods, and bestowing Divine At-

Attributes upon them. And I am willing, in the first place, to take their Invocation at the very lowest; because though in their publick Prayers and Liturgies, they often pray to their Saints to demand and command, and make them Partners with God, and give them a divided Empire with him; yet in their Apologies, not being able to justifie such abominable Sacrilege, they are content to lower their Saints, and to place them in the rank of Suppliants, and then their Invocation is no more than *prier pour prier*. Well, be it so for the present, for this gives them the Attributes of Omnipresence and Omniscience, which belong to God alone.

C. Perron
Replique au
Roy Jacques.

First; Of *Omnipresence*. It is notorious that the Papists, in all parts of the World, familiarly make their Addresses to the Virgin *Mary*: whereby they suppose her present, both here and in the *Indies*, and in all Countries between; that she gives audience in this and the lower Hemisphere at once, and in millions of distant places in both, besides her Presence Chambers, such as *Loretto, Hall, &c.* and innumerable Altars, where she does especially

pecially reside; and is notwithstanding in Heaven all the while. Now what can an Infinite Being do more? What other Ubiquity do we ascribe to God? That the very Act of directing their Prayers to Saints, implies this Ubiquity, is very plain; for they immediately apply themselves to the Saints, that they may obtain their mediation to God. So that their Prayers are not intended to be conveyed by God to the Saints, but to come directly to them, and by them to be recommended to God. And for that reason, in the *Trent* Catechism they are called

Rom. Catechis.
p. 297. p. 394.

Internuntii & Patroni, Interpretes & Deprecatores ad Deum. For to make God their Messenger to the Saints (as he must be, if these Prayers do not come directly to them) and to have him convey *Ora pro nobis*'s is no good Court fashion, from whence we are told they take their Pattern; and would very ill comply with that profound reverence towards God, and keeping of due distance, and avoiding abrupt approaches to him, which is the great pretence for flying to the mediation of Saints and Angels.

2dly, The bare Invocation of their
Saints

Saints suppose their *Omniscience*. For (to say nothing of the Council of *Trent's* decreeing mental Prayer to be used to them) it is not to be thought that the Saints will prefer Hypocritical Prayers to God, and such as are an abomination to him; and therefore it is necessary for them to know Mens Hearts. Now not only the Scripture attributss this as proper and peculiar to God; so *Solomon* says, *Thou only knowest the Hearts of the Children of Men*: And God appropriates it to himself, *The Heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins*. But likewise the Heathens themselves attributed it to their Gods, as that which was the ground of worshipping them, and of attesting them in all their Oaths and solemn Compacts. Not only to know what is in Man, but to know what is in all Men, and at all Times, is the perfection of Infinite Knowledg: which it is therefore impossible for Saints or Angels to have, because it is a contradiction, for a Creature to have so much as one single infinite perfection.

Synod. Trid.
Sess ult. Eos
qui asserunt
stultum esse in
Cœlo regnan-
tibus voce vel
mente suppli-
care impie
sentire.

2 Chron. 6. 31.

Jer. 17 9, 10.

It would be a great presumption in us to go about to fix the Bounds and Limits of their enlarged Understandings, and to tell just how wise an Angel of God is. They may, for ought I know, have an intuitive Knowledge, without the trouble and hazard of reasoning, and see the remotest Conclusions by as clear a light, as we do first Principles: They may, in many other respects, have their Understandings elevated and enlightned, beyond what we can imagine. Yet it is no presumption to say, that they have not any such knowledge in any kind, as may equal them with God; But on the other hand it is Blasphemy to ascribe that to them, than which we cannot ascribe any thing greater to him. And this knowledge of understanding and searching Men's Hearts, the Papists not only imply in their praying to Saints and Angels, and decree in their Councils, but they openly avow it likewise in their Writings, and will prove it by Scripture it self. Cardinal *Perrone* for one, amongst many others, proves that the Saints know Men's Hearts, because they are equal to the Angels: And the Angels
assuredly

assuredly know them, because they rejoice at the Conversion of a sinner; which is the inward change of a Man's Mind, and lies very deep, even at the bottom of the Heart. But far less charity than the Angels burn withal, and a much smaller degree of knowledge than they really are endued with, will solve this *Phænomenon*. For cannot such silly wretches as we be glad of the conversion of a sinner, who was given for lost, though we never saw him in our Lives; if we be assured of it by a very good Friend, who likewise was himself the happy Author of this Conversion, and invites us to congratulate the good success of his care and pains in it? And that this is the very case of the Angels Joy, I will venture to refer it to any Man that will but once read over the first ten Verses of the 15th Chapter of *St. Luke*. They likewise argue from *Elisha's* Heart going with *Gebazi*, and from his discovering the King of *Syria's* Councils. But, 1. these were Actions and words, which are nothing near so private as thoughts. And then, 2. there is no consequence, from the extraordinary performances

of Saints and Prophets, enabled and inspired by God, to infer an ordinary and constant Power and faculty of doing such things at all times. Have the Saints and Angels *Præscience*, because Prophets have been some times enabled to foretel Things to come? Have they the power of raising the Dead, and of doing such Miracles as are plainly the Finger of God, because God has been pleased, at some times, to make Men his Instruments in the performance of these mighty Works? One would be ashamed of such Reasonings, and yet they have still worse. For some of them take it ill, that in denying Invocation of Saints and Angels, we will not allow them so much knowledg as the Devil has. Well, for ought I know, they may hereafter have a new set of Gods, and from worshipping those, which as the *Homily* says, they transform into Devils, by setting them up as the Rivals of God, they may fall to courting those which have made themselves so; who it seems have one qualification towards Invocation. For who knows where Apostacy from God will end?

*Tripple Cord,
P. 345 dedi-
cated to the
Nobility of
England*

Secondly;

Secondly ; The Matter of their Prayers to Saints and Angels makes them Gods, by giving them still more Divine Attributes.

1. They attribute to Saints and Angels the disposal of Grace, pardon of Sins, deliverance from Hell, and eternal Life ; which are as peculiarly the Gifts of God, as the Creation of the World was his Work ; as you may see by these following Prayers.

I ' *Angelorum concio Sacra, Et Arch-* Missal. Sar. in
' *angelorum turma inclyta, Nostra dilu-* Feste omni-
' *ant jam peccata, Præstando supera* rum.
' *Cæli gaudia.*

Here they pray the Angels to blot out their Sins, and bestow upon them the Joys of Heaven.

O *Virgo sola Mater casta, nostra*
' *crimina* In Nativitat.
' *Solvens, da Regna, qui beata reg-* B. M.
' *nant agmina.*

Here they pray the Virgin to pardon their Sins, and to give them the Kingdom of Heaven.

Litania Sancti
Bonavent.
Tom. 6. p. 492.

' *Ab Inferni horribili cruciamine,*
' *Libera nos Domina.*

' From the horrible Torment of Hell
Good Lady deliver us.

Ibid.

' *Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis re-*
' *quiem æternam donare digneris,*
' *Te rogamus, audi nos.*

' That it may please thee to give
' everlasting Rest to all the Faith-
' ful departed this Life. We be-
' seech thee to hear us.

And in the Versicles, and Respon-
ses, towards the end of that Litany,
you have these words.

V. ' *Ego dixi Domina miserere mei.*

R. ' *Sana animam quia peccavi ti-*
bi, &c.

' I have said, Lady, have mercy
' upon me.

' Heal my Soul for I have sinned
' against thee.

' Shew thy Mercy upon us ;

' And be gracious unto thy Ser-
' vants.

And

And presently after you have this devout Ejaculation.

*‘Miserere servorum tuorum super
‘quos invocatum est nomen tuum.*

*‘Be merciful to thy Servants, who
‘are called by thy Name.*

And so let them be, and never hereafter pretend to be Christians! for that she is their great Goddess, appears,

2. By that blasphemous Honour which they have done her, in decking and magnifying her with the very same glorious Praises and Acknowledgments, wherewith *David* was inspired to honour God; which our Blessed Saviour himself, when he was upon Earth, and all the Church of God have sung to him ever since. Such as these which follow, and the rest is alike, for it is all quintessence.

Psal. 10. In thee Lady do I put my
‘trust.

18. ‘The Heavens declare thy
‘Glory.

Psal.

A Comparison

Pfal. 30. 'Into thy hands I commend
' my Spirit, my whole Life,
' and my last Day.

53. 'I will freely offer unto
' thee the Sacrifice of Praise,
' and give thanks unto thy
' Name, for it is good.

67. 'Let *Mary* arise, and let her
' Enemies be scattered.

III: 'Blessed is the Man that fea-
' reth our Lady, and blessed is
' the Heart that loveth
' her.

III8. 'Lady how have I loved thy
7th Part. 'Law! it is ever before mine
' Eyes.

' Praise our Lady from Hea-
' ven, glorify her in the
' Heights. Praise her Sun
' and Moon, &c.

And then this Psalter concludes,
just as *David's* does,

150. 'Let every thing that hath
' breath, praise our Lady.

Who can endure to see Scripture
thus transpros'd and abused, and a
Creature clothed with all the Majesty
of

of Heaven, and adorned at this rate with the spoils of her Maker ? And besides *David's* Psalms, there is hardly an Hymn in the whole Bible, that is not in the same manner applied to her.

' *The Chariots of Pharaoh and his Host, she hath cast into the Sea.* Cantic. instar illius, Exod. i. 5. P. 479.

How came she to cast them into the Sea, ye blasphemous Wretches, a thousand Years before she was born ?

They have likewise a *Te Deum* for her, which concludes thus ;

' *Praise becometh thee ; Dominion becometh thee ; To thee be Power and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

And an *Athanasian* Creed, which concludes thus, speaking of our Saviour ;

' *He sent the Holy Ghost upon his Disciples, and upon his Mother ; whom he afterwards took up into Heaven, and she sits at the right Hand of her Son, not ceasing to prevail with her Son for us.*

Exorare.

' *This is the Faith concerning the Virgin Mary ; which unless every Man do believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved.*

Now

See Bonaven-
ture's Life be-
fore his works

See Bonavent.
Pref. to this
Psalt. and Li-
turg. gratia &
jutorio illius
conditum &
compactum.

Now, whence had we this blasphemous Liturgy? Did not Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himself take care to print it in the *Vatican*, amongst *Bonaventure's* Works? and did not he make this *Bonaventure* a Doctor of the Church, and a Father, for these works? And did not *Sixtus* the Fourth long before canonize him, and make him one of their Gods, for his Sanctity and Doctrine, which was testified by Miracles, such as raising the dead, &c. at the instance and intreaty of *Frederick* the Emperor, the Kings of *France*, *Sicily*, *Hungary*; Dukes of *Venice*, *Savoy*, *Milain*, &c. Did not the same Pope *Sixtus* hire & encourage People, with Indulgences, to worship this new god at his first setting up, that so he might be sure to have the more divine Honour done to him? And did not this Divine *Bonaventure* make this Book, when he was upon Earth, with the Virgin *Mary's* help? And did not he make it for this end, That those that often praised her by this Book, she might mercifully look upon, with her amiable Countenance, and receive into her Love, and recreate and refresh their Souls at present, and in the Glory that shall be here.

hereafter, set a Crown of precious Stones upon their Heads? And if all these Saints, and Popes, and Miracles, cannot make this to be good Catholick Doctrine, it is very hard.

However, to wave this Liturgy, there is as much attributed to the Virgin *Mary*, in the publick Offices of their pretended Church; which no Papist can have any manner of colour of pretence to disown, because he himself joins in them. For instance, they attribute Ommipotency to her. *Bonaventure* indeed says roundly, *Domina nostra Omnipotens post Deum nomen ejus*. And is not *cuncta potens* as good as *Omnipotens*? and this the *Missal* freely bestows upon her, and gives it as a reason why she should forgive Sins, and bestow the Kingdom of Heaven.

*Canticum in-
star il ius,
Exod. 15.*

Potens enim cuncta, ut Mundi Re- *In Nativitate*

gina, & jura

B. M.

Cum nato omnia decernis in secla

& ultra,

Subnixa es in gloria Cherubim e-

lecta, Seraphinq; clara agmina.

Nam juxta Filium posita, sedes in

dextera,

Virtus, lampas, & Sophia.

'For

A Comparison

‘ For thou art Mighty, as Queen of
 ‘ the World, and with thy Son
 ‘ judgest all things for ever and
 ‘ ever ; thou upheldest in glory
 ‘ the Cherubim & Seraphim, &c. ♪

Nay if she can do all things, they
 have reason, she is to be worshipped ;
O Dea certe.

But how comes she to be thus all-
 powerful, and Queen of the World ?

Corona B. V.
 p. 466. jure
 matris impera-
 tuo dilectissi-
 mo Filio.

It is not by the Right of a Mother,
 which elsewhere she is desired to use
 in commanding her Son, for then the
 Lady *Ann*, our Ladies Mother, would
 come in for a share ; who, alas, must
 be content with her Daughters Ho-
 nour, for she her self is made but a
 poor Messenger ; as you may see by
 these words to her :

In Festo Annæ
 Matris B. M.

‘ *Tua proles est Regina, in Cælesti*
 ‘ *patria.*

‘ *Ipsa cunctis jam prælata, per te*
 ‘ *sumens hæc precata,*

‘ *Nostra fiat Advocata, in Dei præ-*
 ‘ *sentia.*

‘ Thy Daughter is Queen in the
 ‘ Heavenly Country.

‘ Let her who takes place of all
 ‘ re-

‘receiving these Prayers from
‘thee, become our Advocate in
‘the presence of God.

What handing of Prayers is here,
just as they help Bricks out of a Cart!
From whence, by the way, we may
observe that Cardinal *Peronne* stopt
short, when he said Invocation was
only *prier pour prier*; it is *prier pour*
prier pour prier, at the least: For an
ordinary Saint, no nor Angel neither,
will not serve to present their Pray-
ers, but must go to the Virgin *Mary*,
and pray her over again.

For thus likewise they speak to
the Angel *Gabriel*.

‘*Nunc igitur prece accelera, Pie* In Festo San-
‘*Matris precare viscera.* *cti Gabrielis.*

‘*Nato monstret pectas & ubera; Tu*
‘*ad hos te nos tecum libera.*

‘Now therefore Herald make hast,
‘intreat the Bowels of the Gra-
‘cious Mother;

‘Let her shew her Son her Bosom
‘and Breasts; deliver thy self
‘and us from the Enemy.

It

It is well *Post-haste* is written up on this last Packet of Prayers, for otherwise that mischance might happen to them, which did to the Master of Requests, Petitions, in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time: who told the Queen, when she complained that his new Boots stunk; that it was not his new Boots, but the old stale Bills which he had kept too long in his Pocket.

To return from this Digression, The Virgin *Mary* takes her place as Queen of the World, and Empress of Heaven, by another right; for they have blasphemously made her the Bride, or the Wife of God the Father. So *Bonaventure* in his *Te Deum*,

Hymnus in-
star illius qui
ascribitur *Am-
brosio & August.*

*Te Matrem Dei laudamus, Te Ma-
rium Virginem profitemur,*

*Te æterni Patris sponsam omnis ter-
ra generatur.*

*All the Earth doth worship thee,
the Wife of the Father Ever-
lasting.*

But because I said I would wave *Bona-
venture*, tho at the same time I
proved his Authority to be sacred, the
very

very same is said, or sung, in their own
Mass-Book.

‘ *Tu es pulchra Dei sponsa, Tu Regem Chri-* In die assump.
B. M.
‘ *stum enixa,*
‘ *Domina es in Cælo & Terra.*

‘ Thou art Gods fair Bride, thou brought-
‘ est forth the King Christ,
‘ And art Lady in Heaven and Earth.

And again you have an account how
he came by her.

‘ *Imperatrix, cujus imperio tota gaudet Cæ-* In festo Sancti
Gabrielis.
‘ *lestis Concio.*
‘ *Te creavit Deus mirabilem, te respexit an-*
‘ *cillam humilem.*
‘ *Te quæruit sponsam amabilem, tibi nun-*
‘ *quam fecit consimilem.*

‘ Thou Empress, under whose Govern-
‘ ment the whole Assembly of Hea-
‘ ven rejoyces to be. God created
‘ thee wonderful, he regarded thee
‘ his lowly Handmaid; He sought
‘ thee out his amiable Spouse, the like
‘ of thee he never made.

K

And

And this Title is so familiarly given to the Virgin *Mary*, that it seems to be annexed to her Imperial Stile; for I will be bound, at very short warning to produce an hundred places out of their publick and private Devotions, where she she is called by that Name. We are extremely beholden to the Papists, and ought to take this occasion to thank them, for answering an Objection of *Mahomet* against our Saviour's Divinity. For he being a crafty Impostor, found a necessity of lessening our Saviour, and making him barely a Prophet: by which means he himself would clearly have the advantage, in being the last Prophet. And therefore he not only tells a ridiculous Story how Jesus the Son of *Mary*, being questioned for it by God, utterly denied that ever he called himself the Son of God, and laid all the fault upon his Followers, because they had done it of their own Heads; but likewise he repeats and inculcates it all over his *Alcoran*, that there is but one God only, and no more. And in one place, I remember, he gives this reason for it: There is but one God and no more, and he has no Son, for he never had a Wife. But now there's an end of that Turkish Argument.

ment. And now likewise the Secret is out. For, I confess, it has often amaz'd me to see the extravagant Blasphemies, which are used in their Prayers to the Virgin Mary ; as when they call her *the Fountain of Mercy*, (which is the brightest and loveliest apprehension of God, that can possess the minds of Creatures) ; when they call her, *Empress of Heaven, who upheld the Cherubim and Seraphim from falling*, (there I thought them mad) *whom all the Angels worship*, (that methought was but reasonable, supposing the former) *whom the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the whole Creation are called upon to praise and magnifie* (as if she had been the Maker of them all) *and who threw Pharaoh and his Host into the Red Sea*, (there thought I they made old Time go back a thousand Years for this piece of Flattery.) Whereas this unthought of Relation entitles her to every thing that is, was, or can be in the Universal World, Methinks such rank Blasphemy as this should poison the Air, into which it is breathed forth, and blast the whole Creation round about ! I am sure it will

Sung in the Council of Constance.
Apud Chemnitium. Exam. Con. Trid. p. 610. Gen. 1634. & in sequentia Missal. in Visitat. B. M.

make the Ears of all Christians to tingle, and raise their blood against such an horrid Religion.

And thus I have proved the *Papists*, out of their own blasphemous mouths, to be *Polytheists*, in setting up Saints and Angels for Gods, and in giving divine Honour to them. I have employed no other Argument, at present, to prove this, then only their Prayers to them; whereas I might have used very many others, as he that will read the *Homily* against peril of Idolatry, may easily see. Against certain Truth, I know there cannot possibly be any material Objection; but I would answer all trifling ones, if I could foresee them. It may be the *Papists* will say, they do not take the Angels and Saints for Gods, because they make them in many respects inferiour to God. Were the Heathen Gods no Gods, because *Jupiter* was King of them? Was *Vulcan* no God, because he was only armed with an Hammer, and not with the Sovereign Thunderbolt? What difference the Heathens made betwixt *Jupiter* and the other Gods, you may in part see, by this fol

following passage taken out of *Maximin's* Edict upon a Pillar in *Tyrus*. Eusebii Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 6. παριστάς ὑμῶν θεοῖς.
 The highest and greatest *Jupiter*, who presides over your famous City, and delivers the Gods of your Country, your Wives, and Children, and Houses, from all destructive Calamity, &c. These poor helpless Gods were so far from being Omnipotent, that they needed the protection of *Jupiter*, as much as the meanest of their Votaries.

Or it may be they will say, They reserve peculiar Worship and Services to God, which they do not communicate to Saints: For they tell us, 'They celebrate the Mass indeed, in memory and honour of the Saints: but the Priests never uses to say, I offer Sacrifice to thee *Peter*, or *Paul*: namely this Sacrifice of the Mass. For that they offer all other Sacrifices, if it please God to give me Life and Health, I shall hereafter fully prove: and then they shall hear more of this deceitful Juggle too, and of the Tricks they have played with *St. Austin's* words.

Rom. Catechis.
 P. 20.

We grant they do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to the Saints, but to the Trinity : So that they offer the Son of God to himself? and according to the usual *decorum*, which they constantly observe in that awkerd Religion, which is made to spite the Reason of Mankind : As our Saviour once heretofore sate at the Table discoursing, and lay sowing in twelve several mens Stomachs at the same time, so now he is every day in Person, both the Sacrifice it self upon Earth, and the God in Heaven to whom it is offered. None but such a Fool as I am, would stand arguing and disputing with these Men ; whom all the reason upon Earth can never distress by reducing them to Impossibilities or Absurdities, when they own and profess these Absurdities and contradictions of their own accord : it would certainly be more wisdom, to go and preach, as Venerable *Bede* once did, to a heap of Stones. But to proceed nevertheless ; are not we to take it for a great favour that they do not offer the Great God of Heaven in Sacrifice to *Thomas of Becket* ? The Gentiles

Gentiles Idolaters were so far from offering *Jupiter* in sacrifice to any petty God, that I never yet read, that they offered him in sacrifice to himself. There is no consequence at all in this reasoning; The Papists do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to Saints and Angels, but only to the Trinity, therefore they do not make Saints and Angels Gods. For had not the Heathens proper Sacrifices for *Jupiter*, which were sacred only to him? and yet this did not destroy the Divinity of the other Deities. It makes no more difference amongst the Gods, nor affects their Godhead any more, to have this or that particular Sacrifice offered or not offered to them, than it did for *Æsculapius* to have a great Beard, and his Father *Apollo* to have none at all.

Lastly, The Papists may possibly say, that there is great difference betwixt the Gods of the Pagans, and the Saints which they honour and worship: The former having been lewd Men, and sometimes feigned Persons, the latter being such as we Hereticks pay some respect to, though

not enough. I shall not now enter into the merits of that Cause, but refer them to a great Prelate of our Church, who has told them, that they worship Saints in Heaven, and Saints in Hell, and Saints that were in neither Place, nor ever are in being. Though by the way, I cannot find any such great difference betwixt *Romulus* and *Ignatius Loyola*; the one having been, in his time, the Governour of a Den of Theives, and the other Captain Generall of the Modern Banditi: and it is all one to me, whether they worship the Nine Muses or the Seven Sleepers, for still the *Polytheism* remains the same; they have indeed changed their Gods, but not to their Religion.

Vid. Festum 7.
dormientium.

CHAP. XI.

Their Idolatry.

ACCORDING to my former Method, I shall, 1. shew, That the Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. And, 2. I shall make good that Charge upon them, out of their own Mouths.

1. The Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. The *Homilies*, I am sure, charge them with it above an hundred times over, out of which I shall make choice of some few Instances. Speaking of the Ages of Popery :

It is evident, that Images, Superstition, and Worshipping of Images and Idolatry, have continued many hundred Years. And in the same Paragraph, we have a fuller description of the State of all Christendom before the Reformation. So that Layty and Clergy, Learned and unlearned, all Ages, Sects, and degrees

3d. part Sermon per Idol:
p. 56.

Pag. 57.

grees of Men, Women and Childzen of whole Christendom, (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable Idolatry, of all other Vices most detested of God, and most damnable to Man, and that by the space of eight hundred Years and more.

Ibid. p. 72.

2d. part p. 37.
Our mighty
Gods of Gold
and Silver
Stock & Stone.

Pag. 49.

And in another place, after a description of their Men Saints, which looked like Princes of Persia Land; and the Idols of their Women Saints, which might have been taken for nice and well-trimmed Harlots, you have these words; And because the whole Pageant must be thoroughly plaide, it is not enough thus to deck Idols, but at the last come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with Gold and Pearl, that they may be meet Serbants for such Lords and Ladies, and fit worshippers of such Gods and Goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these Golden Puppets, and fall down to the Ground on their Marrow Bones before these honourable Idols, &c. And else where you have a large Discourse, shewing, That their rites and Ceremonies, in honouring and worshipping

Shipping of the Images, or Saints, be all one with the Rites which the Gentiles Idolators used in honouring their Idols. In Pilgrimages to visit Images, which had more Holiness and Vertue in them than others. In their Candle-Religion, burning Incense, offering up Gold to Images, hanging up Crutches, Chains, and Ships Legs, Arms, and whole Men and Women of War, before Images as though by them or Saints, (as they say) they were delivered from Lameness, Sickness, Captivity, or Shipwrack. In spreading abroad, after the Example of the Gentiles Idolators, lying and feigned Miracles of Images. Such an Image was sent from Heaven, like the Palladium or Diana of the Ephesians: Such an Image was brought by Angels. Such an one came it self far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Some Images, though they were hard and stony, yet for tender-heart and pittie, wept. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's Ass, who had Life and Breath in him. Such a Cripple came and saluted this Saint of

Page 51.

Page 52.

of Oak, and by and by he was made whole, and here hangeth his Crouch Such an one in a Tempest bowed to Saint Christopher, and scaped, and behold here is his Ship of War. Such an one, by Saint Leonards's help, brake out of Prison, and see where his Fetters hang. And infinite thousands more Miracles by like, or more shameless Lies were reported. And to conclude, the Papists serve themselves of those very excuses which the Devil heretofore put into the mouths of the Gentiles, to palliate their Idolatry. So that by making use of the same Pretences and Answers, it is plain, that they be all one with the Gentiles Idolaters.

Ibid. p. 50.

Declaration after the Communion.

These things hitherto are spoken in reference to the Worshipping of Images; and then as to their worshipping the Host, the Rubrick, after the Communion, declares, that it is **Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians**, Which has been always the Doctrine of our Church, notwithstanding the ignorant Cavils of some Men, as appears by the *Homilies*, where this Doctrine was never discontinued. The Papists ignorance of the Sacrament is affirmed

affirmed to have been the cause of the ^{1st part. Sermon concerning the} ruin of Gods Religion, the cause of ^{Sacrament.} gross Idolatry, and of mummish ^{p. 159.} **Walsing.**

Their worshipping and falling down before every cross piece of Timber, ^{Second part Peril of Idolatry. p. 25.} which is but an Image of our Saviour's Cross, must needs be rank Idolatry: when in **St. Ambrose judgment** ^{In his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor.} to have worshipped the Cross it self, which was embrewed with our Saviour Christs own precious Blood, had been an Heathenish Error and Vanity of the Wicked.

In a word; Idolatry is so interwoven with their Religion, that the ^{3d. part. Peril of Idol. p. 69.} *Homily* very justly brands them with the Name of the **Idolatrous Church.**

So much for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which I hope will not seem strange or new to the meanest Reader; for I am sure all the People of *England* ought to have been instructed and perfect in it, any time this hundred Years and better. ^{Article Ch. of England. 35.}

2. And now I shall undertake to prove the Papists to be as blockish Idolaters as ever were in the World, by irrefragable and uncontrollable Authorities,

thorities, such as they must either own, or renounce their Popery; and they are, their own Mass-Book, the Roman Catechism set out by the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, and the Roman Pontifical.

And 1. I shall set down all the sorts of Idolatry, which are enumerated by the Roman Catechism.

And then 2. Prove them to be guilty of those very things, which they themselves acknowledge to be both Idolatry, and old Heathen Idolatry.

In their Explication of the Second Commandment, they have these words. 'It is manifest, that two ways especially, as to this Precept, the Majesty of God is very much injured. The first is, if Idols and Images are worshipped as God: or if any Divinity or Vertue be believed to be in them, for the sake of which they are to be worshipped, or that any thing is to be desired of them, or any trust is to be put in them, as was done heretofore by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in Idols, which the Scripture every where re-proves. The other is, If any one
'endea-

Rom. Catechif.
p. 299.

‘endeavour to represent the form of
‘the Divinity in any kind of Work;
‘as if it could be seen with bodily
‘Eyes, or expressed by Colours or Fi-
‘gures.

To begin with the first Instance of
Idolatry, to worship Idols or Images
as God: by which they mean wor-
shipping an Image, with a perswa-
sion that it is God; truly that is a very
low dispensation, which very few, if a-
ny of the Heathens were under. And
such an imputation as this, they al-
ways look’d upon as an horrid slan-
der upon their Religion. If any Pa-
pist had charged the Heathens with it
in *Julian’s* time, He would have re-
turned him this answer. ‘O thou Block-
‘head, how can we chuse but account
‘them Stocks and Stones, which the
‘hands of Men have fashioned? Dost
‘thou think that the accursed Devils
‘lead all other Men by the Nose, as they
‘do thee, so as to esteem them to be
‘Gods, which are their own work-
‘manship? Or if they mean by those
words, the worshipping of Images,
with the same honour and devotion as
God himself, even this the Heathens
renounced. *Julian* gives this account
of

ὁ καὶ τῶν λίθων
καὶ ξύλων
ἀφελείσας.
Julian.
Fragment.
p. 539.

Julian. Ibid.

of the respect which they paid to Images, whereby you may perceive a wide difference betwixt that, and the honour which they gave to their Gods. Says he ' Whosoever is a lover of his ' King, or Child, or Father, is delighted with their several Pictures, and ' pleased in looking upon them : by the ' same reason, he that is a Lover of ' God, is pleased and delighted in ' looking upon the Images of the ' Gods, at the same time Worship- ' ping and dreading the Gods, who see ' him, but are not seen. Now who but a Sot, has the same reverence and pangs of Love for these dead Pictures, as he has for the Person of his Prince, or for his Relations themselves?

Concil Trid.
Sess. 13. Rom.
Cap. p. 185.
Totus Christus
continetur in
Sacramento,
Christus au-
tem est nomen
Dei & Homi-
nis.

Epist. 49. ad
Deo Grati-
as
Pref. Quæst. 3.

Let that be as it will, I am sure the modern Pagans will never be able to acquit themselves of ten times more stupid Idolatry, when they Worship a contemptible Wafer, which is hardly fit to Seal a Letter, with a full persuasion, that it is not only a perfect and compleat Man, but likewise the great God of Heaven. An Heathen Idol look'd like some Body ; and being placed, as St. *Austin* says, *in an Honourable sublimity, having the very likeness*
of

of Limbs and Organs of Sense, though it really were without Life and Sense, yet it might affect weak minds, and seem to them to live and breath: But never was there such a blunder before in the World, as to mistake a despicable patch of Bread, yea, though it have a Crucifix printed upon it to help the Imagination, for the Living God who made Heaven and Earth. No Man can forbear scorning, and speaking contemptuously of this despicable and detestable Idol. For though a small piece of Bread has an honourable place in the Creation, and a much more honourable place in the Sacrament, where we remember our Saviour by it; yet, when it comes to be made a God, it is vilely degraded, and becomes an Object of nothing but Scorn and Derision, of Hatred and Detestation. As St. Gregory's Words are speaking of the Reign of Jovian, when Paganism expired; 'The Creature,' says he, 'is no longer vilified with pretended Honour, in being worshipped instead of God. And so the Wisdom of Solomon counts the Gibbet a more Honourable piece of

Greg. Naz.

Inv. 2. p. 127.

ἐκ τῆς ἱερα-

δουλείας

ἡσίου ἐν ᾧ

πάντες τιμῶσιν

τὸ θεῖον πρὸς

κυνωμίδιον.

Chap. 14. 7.

L

Wood,

Wood, and pronounces it a happy Tree, in refpect of that curfed One, which is debafed and framed into an Idol.

Council Trid.
Sefl. 13.

Canon of the
Mafs in Miff.
Sar. p. 162. b.

2dly. That this forry Wafer, this contemptible Idol, is likewise to be worfhipped with the fame Adoration, which is due to the true God, is the exprels determination of the Council of *Trent*, with a Curfe to all them that fhall fay the contrary. And accordingly they make thofe Addreffes to the Hoft, which are enough to aftonifh a Man, and fill him with the greateft horror and amazement. In the middle of the Prayer, *Deus Pater fons & origo totius bonitatis*, &c. is this Rubrick; ‘Here let the Prieft ‘bow himfelf to the Hoft, faying, I ‘adore thee, I glorifie thee, I praife ‘thee with all the power of my Mind ‘and Heart, and pray thee not to for- ‘fake thy Servants, but forgive us our ‘Sins. If this were not directed to the Hoft, the Rubrick fhould have come in before thefe words, *Quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo*,

And

And Bishop Coverdale, who translated the Canon of the Mass, affirms, That the Priest here speaks in this manner to the Host, and asks why not? if it be his maker: according to the usual saying of Papists, who have been at Mass, *I thank God, I have seen my Maker to day.* And for certain, that Noble Confessor understood the sense of the Papists, and their worship, but too well, to his cost.

Fox. Mon.
Vol. 3. P. 5.

To conclude this whole Matter with that, which would have startled and amazed the Old Pagans themselves; after they have thus hail'd their God, and bowed the Knee before him, and worshipped him with all their Heart, and Soul, and Strength, they very fairly eat him up.

See more of
this, in the ex-
cellent and
learned Dis-
course of Dr.
Whitby, *The
Absurdity and
Idolatry of
Host-Worship.*

2. The next instance of Idolatry is this; If any Divinity or Virtue be believed to be in Idols or Images, for the sake of which they are to be Worshipped. By Divinity, here must be meant, a Divine Power and Efficacy to supernatural Effects; for otherwise it will be the very same with the

former Instance. And that the Papists are likewise guilty of Idolatry in this particular, I shall make as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclide*, with the help only of this one reasonable *postulatum*, That there is all that Divinity and Virtue in a thing, which is put into it. Now let any one read the Consecration of a New Cross, or a Picture of the Crucifix, and he will be satisfied, that there is Divinity and Virtue enough put in them to justify the worshipping of them. ' We beseech
 ' thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty
 ' Everlasting God, that it may please
 ' thee to bless this Sign of the Cross,
 ' that it may be a Saving Remedy to
 ' Mankind. Let it be solidity of
 ' Faith, proficiency of Good Works,
 ' Redemption of Souls. Let it be a
 ' Comfort, and Protection, and safe-
 ' guard against the cruel Darts of the
 ' Enemies, through Jesus Christ our
 ' Lord, &c. And after the Bishop has
 said this, and another such Prayer,
 and used several powerful Ceremonies,
 and endued the Wood with so many
 Divine Virtues, he may well do, as the
 Rubrick directs at the end of the Of-
 fice,

ontificale
 Rom. p. 360.

Rogamus te
 Domine, &c.

fice. ' Then the Bishop kneeling before the Cross does devoutly adore it and kifs it ; the fame do all others that have a mind.

Tam Pontifex, &c.

There is no Man living can make an estimate of that infinite Divine Virtue, which is in the Paschal Taper, that very tall Idol, being thirty six foot long. For in the Consecration of the New Fire (very well worth the reading) which is to light this Paschal Taper ; They pray, *that whosoever shall carry away Light from it, may be illuminated with the Light of Spiritual Grace.* Now this Light, well Husbanded, may convey Grace to all the World. But I shall never be reconciled to that scurvy Rubrick, which directs to sprinkle this New Fire with Holy Water ; with which, if it were never so little too lavishly blest, the World is in danger of being left graceless, and in the dark.

Missal. Sar.
p. 90 a. b.

And yet, for ought I know, there is a little Idol in a String, which may have as much Divinity and Virtue in it as any of them ; and that is a Pectoral Cross, over which they say this Prayer,

L 3

' Al.

Pontific.

Rom. p. 364.

& 384.

‘ Almighty God, we humbly be-
 ‘ seech thee, that it may please thee to
 ‘ bless this Cross with thy fatherly
 ‘ goodness, and impart Heavenly Ver-
 ‘ tue and Grace to it ; That whoso-
 ‘ ever shall wear it as a Sign of the Pas-
 ‘ sion and Cross of thy only begotten
 ‘ Son, for the safeguard of his Body
 ‘ and Soul, may receive the Fulness of
 ‘ thy Heavenly Grace in it, and the
 ‘ defence of thy Blessing. As for the
 other little Wax-work Idol, called an
Agnus Dei, he is so well known to be
 accounted by them, the Saviour of
 the World, and the Prince of the Air,
 and every thing that is great, that I
 need say nothing of him.

If any Unbeliever, after all, does
 secretly imagine that these Charms
 which we have repeated, do not work;
 and that these Crosses and Trade are
 not really endued with all this Divine
 Virtue, which is here bespoken for
 them : To cure him of his Infidelity,
 let him only read the form of deliver-
 ing a Banner, after it is Consecrated ;

Pontific.

Rom. p. 388.]

‘ *Accipe Vexillum Cælesti Benedictione*
 ‘ *Sanctificatum.* Take this Banner
 ‘ which is sanctified with Heavenly Be-
 ‘ nediction

'nediction. You see the Bishop has blest it, and it is blessed.

3dly, I come now to the next instance of Idolatry, which is, *desiring any thing of Idols or Images*: Where I would fain know, whether the Papists do not ask as much of the Cross, as ever was begg'd of piece of Timber in all former Ages: In these following words:

' *Medicina Christiana salva sanos, æ-* Missal. Exaltatio Sanctæ Crucis 14. Sep.

' *gros sana;*

' *Quod non valet vis Humana, fit in*

' *tuo Nomine.*

' Thou Christians all heal, save those

' that are in Health, and cure the

' Sick;

' What humane Power cannot do,

' is done in thy Name.

Nay, they desire as much of an Aerial Idol, as they can of God himself.

' *Hoc reatum peccatorum Tollat, præ-*
' *stet jubilorum.*

Missal. In Festo nominis Jesu.

*'Odas, sede Beatorum Donet nobis
'perfrui.*

Here they beg, neither more nor less, than that the Name of Jesus, (not the Person) may release them of their Sins, and give them the Joys of Heaven.

4thly, And as for the last Instance, which is, *putting their Trust, and placing their Hope in Images or Idols*; If the Papists have no hope in these Idols which I have named, it is a sign they have no Faith in them, and are as very Infidels as we. So much for the first branch of *Idolatry*.

*Catech. Rom.
p. 299.*

Secondly; The other is, *If any one endeavour to represent the form of the Divinity in any kind of Workmanship as if it could be seen with bodily Eyes, or expressed by Colours or Figures.*

Rom. 1.23.

This, as the Roman Catechism adds, was the Idolatry of the Heathens: who, as St. Paul excellently says, *changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, into the similitude of Birds and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things. These Men*

Men want nothing, but to have all the Bibles in the World in one heap, which I am certain they would burn with as good a Will, as our People do once a Year their Past-board Pope ; For then they might go to work, and make a new Bible ; and then St. Paul might say *excellently* what they had a mind to have him. In the mean time they have found out this useful expedient to stifle and suppress any part of Scripture, which makes against them : and that they have shamefully done in this place. They afterwards allow the *Israelites* to be Idolaters, for *changing their Glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth Hay* ; and the Heathens in this place, for *changing the Glory of God into the similitude of Birds, and Beasts, and creeping Things*. Now it is true, they do not trade in this sort of Imagery, and therefore they are willing that it should pass for Idolatry. But St. Paul's first instance of Idolatry, in this very Passage, which they have shamefully mangled, is *changing the Glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an Image of Corruptible Man* : The absurdity where-
of

Psal. 106. 20.

of St. *Paul* expresse by an Elegant Antithesis. But this falls heavy upon their own bald-pate Images, and their Monster Head with three Faces, and the other with an Imperial Crown on his Head, giving his Benisons with his two fore-fingers and Thumb, and that which sits with a Crucifix resting on his Knees, and a Dove upon it; and to name no more, that same, which the honest *Iconoclast* found busie in creating the World, in a blew Coat, bare-foot and bare legged, and marking out the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compasses; and therefore they make no words at all of that part of the Text, which condemns these horred Disguises of the Deity. What, dare they not quote an entire Text of Scripture to their own Priests, for this Catechism is written for their instruction: No; nor in trusty Latine neither, which hides so many of their Cheats from the Eyes of the common people?

Nay then I do not wonder at it any longer, that there was once a Vulgar Language, spoken above four hundred Years in a Catholick Country,

try, which never was worthy to have the Second Commandment in it. That great Antiquary, Mr. *Lambert* in his Notes upon the Preface to King *Alured's* Laws, has long since told the World, that he never met with that Commandment in any Copy that is written in the Saxon Language. By these practices we may see, that the Papists know themselves to be Idolaters, as well as we can tell them. But because they wipe their Mouths, and deny it, and endeavour to shuffle it off by nice Distinctions, I shall not think much to examine them.

First, They say, ' They do not break this Commandment in expref- *Rom. Catech.*
' sing the feveral Persons of the Tri- P. 300.
' nity by Signs, which have appeared
' either under the Old or New Testa-
' ment. Of which they give the An-
cient of days in *Daniel* as an In-
stance.

Secondly, They say, ' That these
' are not Pictures of the Divinity; but
' only that some Properties or Actions,
' attributed to God, are declared by
' them. In

In Answer to the first of these
Excuses.

First, Let them then fairly confess themselves Idolaters, for making those Pictures of God, of which they have neither Sign, nor shadow of a Sign in Scripture. For under which Testament did their Monster-Head with three Faces appear? Than which, never did any Egyptian or Indian God make a worse Figure. Or out of which Testament did they copy their other Pictures of the Trinity, that with a Crucifix on his Knees, or that, where they sit all three a breast; where our Saviour has Holes in his Hands and Feet, that you may know him from the Holy Ghost, for otherwise they are as like as the two *Sofias* in *Plautus*; Had they these out of *Daniel*? And one or other of these abominable Images of the Trinity, we had formerly in every Church, as the Compilers of the *Homilies* tell us; who, though they be not allowed as Doctors, may nevertheless serve for Testifiers.

2d. part Peril
Idol. p. 40.

2dly,

2dly, If a Scripture Sign be the only Authentick Original of a Christian Image or Picture, then are theirs all Idols; for I never saw any of those, which they pretend to copy from *Daniel's* Dream, but varied extreamly from the Original. They add very much in some things, and in others they take away. They picture the Ancient of Days like an Old Man; there is no such word as *Man* in *Daniel*: Dan. 7. 9. then they give him all the Lineaments of a Face, and a Beard, purely out of their own Invention: And then, as for the Drapery, the Painter himself is the fashioner, for there is nothing more of it mentioned in *Daniel*, than the Colour of the Garment. In a word, the Lines and proportion of the Body, the Face and Features, are altogether as the Painter pleases. If Men had not been stark mad of Idolatry, they would never have catch'd thus at the Shadow of a Dream, and gone to work furnish'd with no better Instructions, than with the description of Eternity, the colour of a Head of Hair, the colour of a Gar-

Garment, and the posture of sitting.

The Jews might as well have taken hints from *Moses's* Metaphorical Expressions of the Hand, and arms, and Finger of God, and much more from his own speaking to them, to have pictured God in a humane Shape; from which they are so often and so strictly forewarned.

Deut. 4: 12,
15, 25.

And then, as for all those awful expressions of Majesty; wherewith the Ancient of Days is attended in *Daniel*, which are fit to make all the World fear and tremble before him, they are all left out in their Pictures.

Dan. 7. 9, 10.

*His Throne was a fiery Flame, and his Wheels burning Fire. A fiery Stream issued and came forth from before him: Thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: The Judgment was set, and the Books were opened. All this glorious representation of the Ancient of Days, is dwindled into a solitary decrepid Old Man, who is no more like *Daniel's* description, than a Mause is to a mighty Monarch.*

3dly, These Sign-Painters shew the worst Judgment that can be, in chusing their Pattern out of *Daniel*. For every Body knows, that Prophetick Dreams and Visions, and the Schemes of their Language, and their Descriptions, are more wide from the thing it self, and more unlike, than the harshest Metaphors that ever were in the World. Flourishing Kingdoms are represented in that Book by Rams Horns, and Goats Horns : which would make very unintelligible Pictures of Kingdoms, and would certainly require a Label to tell what they are. And therefore for Men to fetch the picture of God out of such a Book, where besides, above two thirds of their Picture is a perfect Blank, is to do just like Children, but not with their Innocency, who rather than fail of a Baby to play withal, will make it of a Clout.

Secondly, Their other Excuse is ; *Rom. Catechism, p. 300.*
 'That these are not Pictures of the
 'Divinity ; but only that some Pro-
 'perties,

‘perties, or Actions, attributed to
‘God, are declared by them.

To this I Answer ;

1st, That not only their common People, but all Papists call these the Images of God the Father ; of which we have an instance in the Margin of this Catechism, (which is as great an Authority as I cite it for) where it is called *Dei Patris Imago*. And if no Body is so rude and ignorant, as to think the Divinity is expressed by those Images, (as the Catechism says) Why then is every Body so rude and ignorant, as to call them by that Name? For an Image of God the Father, must be an Image of the Divinity, or an Image of nothing, for I hope he never assumed Humanity.

Ibid.

2dly, Further, it is undeniably plain, that the Person of God the Father is declared by these Images, and not any Properties or Actions. For would not he blazon a Picture of the Trinity very improperly, and like an Heretick who should say; There is the Holy Ghost, and that is God the Son, and the other is Eternity, or infinite Wisdom, So that if a Picture of
our

our Saviour stands for his Person, and the Dove, &c. for the Holy Ghost, so does this old Man for the Person of God the Father.

3dly, To let the *Papists* have their own, I affirm, That the very declaring of the Properties and Actions of the Deity by Images, was the Idolatry of the Heathens. For when they made an Image of *Jupiter*, they did not pretend that it was the very Figure of his Divinity, but declared some of his Properties and Actions. And to prove that these Images were instructive, as the Popish are pretended to be, I shall only give this Instance. The same *Jupiter* was pictur'd in *Crete* with no Ears, and by the *Lacedæmonians* with four Ears, whereas the ordinary Pictures of him had but two. Now it is a Contradiction, and therefore held to be an Impossibility, that one and the same Person should have four Ears, and yet but two Ears, and no Ears at all. When they therefore made him with two Ears, they would have him look like a Man, and had no further meaning; but when they made him with four Ears, and

Plutarch de
Iside & Osiride, p. 381.
Et Lilius Gyraldus, p. 76.

Id significan-
tes dominato-
rem omnium
audire debere
neminem, sed
æquè omnibus
patulas offerre
aures.

Eum undiq;
& omnia au-
dire innuen-
tes.

no Ears, then they declared Proper-
ties. And the Moral, and Significa-
tion, of both these, seems to be much
alike. For when the *Cretians* cropp'd
him, they declared, That being King
of the World, it was not fit that any
one should have his Ear, but that they
should lie open to all alike. And
they that gave him that large Set of
Ears, declared, That he heard all
things, and from all parts and quar-
ters of the World. So that when the
Papists have done all, when they have
excused, and apoligized, and blanched
their Images of God, and made the
best of them, still they are no better
than old Pagan Idols.

C H A P. XII.

Their Cruelty.

WHAT the Prophet says of *Ephraim*, hath often come into my mind, with relation to the Papists, They are joyned Hofea 4. 17. to Idols: let them alone. They are infallible and incurable; and if they will not hear *Moses* and the Prophets, poor private Men may do wisely to save their Breath. So we would with all our Hearts; but they will not let us alone. Nothing will satisfy them, unless they force their Idolatry upon us, (as the French King sells his Salt) whether we have any occasion for it, or any mind to it or no.

These Mighty *Nebuchadnezzars* set up Images, and all People, Nations, and Languages, must either fall down and worship them, or else be cast into a fiery Furnace. This is the hard Chapter to which we are now come,

which is the very Sting of Popery : in which I shall first shew, That the Church of *England* has been all along sensible of the Popish Cruelty. And, secondly, shew, That the Papists herein have far exceeded the old Pagans.

2d part, Sermon.
for Whitsund.
p. 215, 216.

Second part
Peril of Idolatry, p. 31.

First ; As for the sense of our Church. The Homilies give us a large account of the Cruelty and Tyranny of many of the Popes of *Rome*, who had not the **Spirit of God, but of the Devil** ; who not only were cruel to the Living, but persecuted dead Bodies : to whom they apply our Saviour's prediction of **cruel and ravening Wolves in Sheeps cloathing**. Their Image-worship was maintained, at the very first, by the **Treason and Rebellion** of Pope *Gregory* the Third ; **which Example other Bishops of Rome have continually followed, and gone through withal most stoutly**. And afterwards we have an account of the Tragical Cruelties, which were committed by the Empress *Irene*, in maintenance of Image-Worship : who was the great **Patron and valiant Captain of the**

the Bishops of Rome, whose wicked and unnatural Cruelty passed Medea and Progne, whose detestable Parricides have ministred matter to Poets, to write their horrible Tragedies. Ibid. p. 34.

Amongst other things, she digged up the Body of her Father-in-Law Constantine the fifth, and commanded it to be openly burned, and the Ashes to be thrown into the Sea; because when he was alive, he had destroyed Images, and taken away the sumptuous Ornaments of Churches. Which Example of her's (as the constant Report goeth) had like to have been put in practice with Princes Corpes in our days, had the Authority of the Holy Father continued but a little longer. Ibid. p. 32.

This is true modern Popish Cruelty and Barbarity, which, according to the daily improvement of it under that Religion, would have far exceeded Irene's. She burnt her Father-in-Law, a Man that was no kin to her, otherwise than by an artificial Relation, and a fiction of Law: But here

it would have been an own natural Father, and Brother; in which case a sweet Protestant Prince, and a Persecutor of Protestants, only not a Slave to the Pope, had both fared alike. So that where Popery comes to be well settled, the Sacred Reliques of all those Princes are in danger of suffering the most barbarous Indignities, who have been in their time either hearty Protestants, or not hearty and thorow-paced Papists. And neither the reverence of a Father, nor the dear Relation of a Brother, shall save them from being treated like the most notorious Malefactors, whom the Justice of a Nation thinks it self bound to follow and pursue into the other World, and to make Examples to all future Ages. For blind Catholick Zeal knows no Body; but be it Peasant or Prince, Strangers, or their own Flesh and Blood, alive or dead, if they have been Hereticks, or insufficient Catholics, into the Fire shall they go.

What English Man, who had but one drop of true English Blood left in his Veins, could have endured to
behold

behold this horrid Sight ? To see a parcel of cowardly Papists breaking up a Royal Monument with Sacrilegious Hands, and dragging thence a mighty Monarch, whom, when he was alive, they durst not have look'd in the Face : to see those Sacred Temples, which had been incircled with a Crown, and that puissant Arm which had sway'd the English Scepter for almost forty Years, now reduced to infamous Ashes ; and these thrown into the Water, as not fit to have a place upon God's Earth : And all this perform'd by the pure Zeal of his own Daughter, only because he was not quite so good a Catholick as her self ?

I could not forbear shaking this Note a little, to try what Mulick it will make in their Ears, who make way for a Popish Successor, out of pure Loyalty to a Protestant Prince. As they like this, they may proceed. For here they may plainly behold what blessed Fruits the Authority of the Holy Father is like to produce, and what true and laudable Service

will be done to Protestant Princes, by introducing Popery.

So well the first Reformers, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, understood the Spirit of Popery. And yet they knew nothing of those Hellish Plots, which almost filled up the succeeding part of that Queen's Reign: They knew nothing of the *Paris* Wedding, the Gun-powder Plot, or the Irish Massacre; which will remain in Books, as Monuments of the inhumane and accursed Cruelty of Papists, when Time has perished the *London* Monument. And they may as well go and try their Foreheads upon this Monument of Stone, as endeavour to out-face the other.

These Cruelties never entred into the Hearts of Pagans, and therefore we have no foundation of a Comparison betwixt Popery and Paganism in this point; no more than we can compare Prince *Rupert's* Iron Guns with *Julius Cæsar's*. For this murdering and massacring hundreds of thousands upon the score of Religion, in
cold

cold Blood, and under the Sacred Rites of Friendship, are things found out in these latter Ages: And the compendious destruction of a Nation at one blow, is as perfectly a new Invention, as the Gun-powder it self, which was to have done that Catholick Job.

All that can be done therefore in this Matter, is;

1. To shew what Cruelty the Pagans exercised upon the account of Religion.

And, 2. to shew, that the Papists have far exceeded them.

The Pagan Cruelty, upon the account of Religion, falls under these two Heads.

1. The Sanguinary Laws which were enacted, or put in execution, against the Christians.

2. The Outrages which were committed upon them.

In both these the Papists have much out-done the Pagans, as might easily be made appear from their own General Councils, their own Historians, their

their Popes Speeches, particularly that of *Sixtus Quintus*, upon the Murther of *Henry the Third of France*; their Popes Bulls, particularly to the Irish, in their late Holy War; their Holy Inquisition, which has, I will not say, Ten Persecutions, but ten thousand Persecutions in the Belly of it.

28 Vol. Conc.
Paris, cap.3.
p. 161.

Alas! the Roman Laws were but Cobwebs, to those of Holy Church against Heresy. You may see some of them in the Decrees of the *Lateran* Council, under *Innocent the Third*; Laws like our late Act for burying in Woollen, which will execute themselves, and extirpate pestilent Northern Heresy, by a modest computation, in a Year and halfs Time. For it is Deprivation to the Bishop that is remiss and negligent, who must make room for another, that can and will confound Heretical Pravity: It is Death in that private Man who will not be an Informer: It is the loss of his Kingdom to that Prince, who will not extirpate as fast as he can; which in that case is to be given to Catholick Free-booters, who, when they have extirpated the Hereticks, are to possess

possess it without any contradiction, and to keep it in the purity of the Faith.

But because I would willingly do all Right to the *Papists* in this Matter, which cannot be done, but by a large and just Discourse upon the Subject; I shall here break off, making that the Conclusion, which is the only End and Intention of this Book, and that my hearty Prayer to God, which shall always be my poor Endeavour among Men.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth defend us from their Tyranny and Pride, that they never enter into his Vineyard again, to the disturbance of his poor seely flock: but that they may be utterly confounded, and put to flight in all parts of the world: And he of his great Mercy so work in all Mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy-Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preached,

2d part. Hom.
for Whitsund.
p. 216.

ched, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist, that like scattered and dispersed Sheep, being at length gathered into one fold, we may in the end rest all together in the Bosom of Abraham, Isahac, and Jacob, there to be partakers of eternal and everlasting Life, through the Merits and Death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. AMEN.

FINIS.

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